RED & BLACK

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liberty without socialism is privelege, injustice;
socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality.
MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

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Introduction

The main piece in this issue is a long article on the Russian Anarchists explaining their role and influence in the Revolution. Translated into English, here for the first time, it originally appeared in a journal of the exiled Russian Anarchists in 1922. The author Anatole Gorelik was one of the few lucky ones who escaped the Bolshevik Terror. He was not just a shrewd observer of events but an active participant in many of the incidents described in his article.

Since 1922, with access to a wide range of documents and historical writings, more detailed and scholarly accounts have been written, especially, the works of Paul Avrich. Nevertheless, this article with its engaging style can still be read with much reward by those wishing to gain an understanding of this important for socialism event of history.

Right from the start Gorelik saw the Bolsheviks as the real enemy of the Revolution. Nonetheless, many anarchists in Russia at the time, however, didn''t, and openly collaborated with them, thus indirectly aiding the Bolsheviks in the setting up of their dictatorship. In was indecision on anarchist part, according to Gorelik, which retarded the growth of the Anarchist movement and hampered its ability to have a stronger influence on the course of events.

The relationship between Anarchism and Bolshevism is examined in the article by Jack Grancharoff, one of the editors and frequent contributor to the Red and Black. Bolshevism from its beginning right through to its modern heirs is denounced as a fundamentally counter-revolutionary movement. Anarchism is presented as the only truely revolutionary political philosophy, being the only one to seek a society not based on hierarchical relationships.

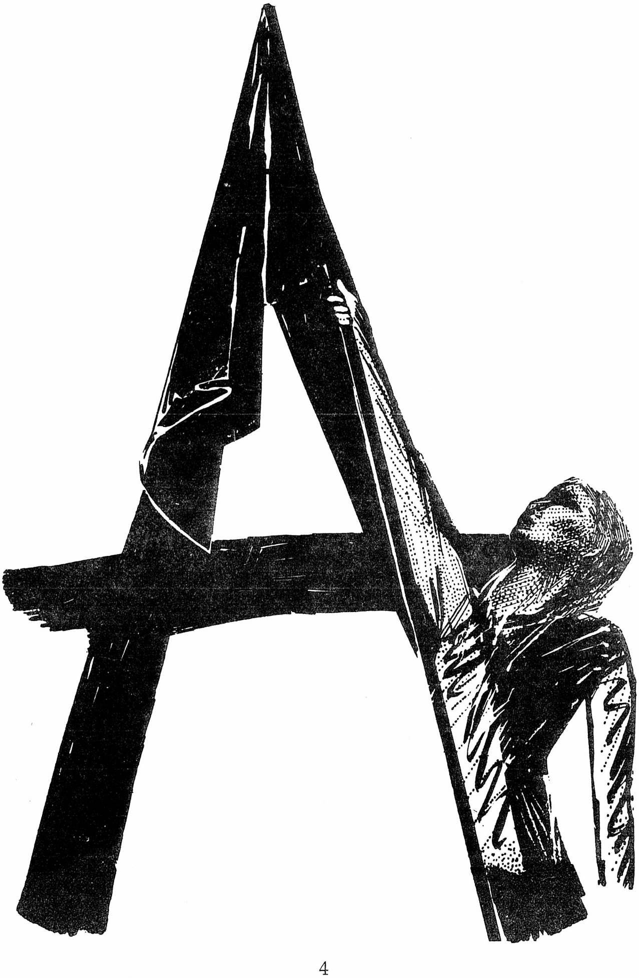
One of the last surviving members of the Russian Anarchist movement Mollie Steimer died late last year. Paul Avrich pays tribute to her memory detailing the many aspects of her facinating life.

In the last issue of Red and Black we published the detailed evidence of Tcherkesoff, for his conviction, that the famous Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels was a plagiarism. It was a chapter out of his little known book Pages of Socialist History published only once in 1902. This book was made up from articles written for Freedom and Les Temps Nouveaux in 1894-96. Concurrent with the internal questioning of the Bernstein revisionism this book highlights, from an anarchist viewpoint, the bankruptcy of Marxist theory. With this issue we present a futher two chapters. Other chapters will appear in next and future issues.

The final article is reprinted from The Anarchist Black Dragon, a publication edited from inside the U.S. Penal System. Written by inmate John Bosch, in no uncertain terms he points out the consequences of any form of 'separatism' which occasionally appears within the anarchist movement, especially one based on race.

So here we have issue No 10, what about the future? Over its long period of existence the Red and Black could only be described as an irregular publication with often over a year between issues. This can partially be explained by both: the weakness of the anarchist movement here in Australia and also the often complicated arrangements we have in the past entered into for typesetting and printing. Recently the movement shows healthy signs of development and we now have direct access to all the necessary means for a smooth production.

Work on issue No 11 has already begun and it should appear well before the end of this year. All this puts us on a good footing to produce the Red and Black on a quarterly basis, which has always been our intention.



ANARCHISM & BOLSHEVISM

Anarchy, by definition means no-government, while Bolshevism, on the other hand, means majority. Both terms are political and, therefore, apply to political reality and have political implications.

Anarchy - absence of government, by extension implies negation of hierarchy, authority, domination and exploitation. Bolshevism, on the contrary, being a concept of government refers to the rule of the majority in its extreme possibilities. Here one need not argue on the myth of the majority, the iron law of oligarchy or the merits and demerits of liberal guided democracies. The fact that political scientific teams invent adjectives such as liberal, implies that there are some other nasty, illiberal and oppressive democracies. Bolshevism is a paradigm case of an illiberal democracy. Thus anarchism and bolshevism refer to two different political realities: libertarian and authoritarian respectively.

Anarchism stands for a radical revolutionary approach to socio-economic problems. Anarch, to use the Oxford Dictionary, means a leader of revolt, But the anarchist revolt is not a chaotic one, a revolt for the revolt sake, it is a revolt with a cause. The anarchist rebels against the authoritarian-governmental social structure. Sh/e challenges its basic make up, the hierarchy. Only the lip service radicals and revolutionaries fail to see the implication of anarchism or, perhaps, pretend not to see it because their personal interests dictate otherwise.

By attacking hierarchy, anarchism attacks the bastions of the Establishment - the State and the family, within which oppression, exploitation and role differentiations operate, without which neither the state nor the family would exist. Naturally then, anarchists reject political parties, which are instruments of the state, the stepping stones for political charlatans and manipulators and a death trap for those who sincerely try to change society. Political parties are useful socializing tools in favour of the government-capitalist mentality, which divert attention from real socio-economic problems, twart any revolutionary tendency and destroy revolutionary potentialites by propounding the balot box as revolutionary means and the delegation of power as a revolutionary process.

Anarchism rejects political trade-unionism because the latter is an appendage of the state, parties and the private capitalist machinery and as such it is facilitating and smoothing the exploitation of the workers by governments and capitalists.

Anarchism, being apolitical, in the sense of rejecting the hierarchical political structure, in theory and in fact, is the only social move ment which negates master-slave and sado-masochistic relationships in all domains of human activities. It consider order giving and order receiving conditions, competition and class division in economic and intellectual spheres as detrimental to human, social and personal development.

Many whose consciousness is rooted in the bourgeois mentality which they cannot transcend, despite theoretical verbiage, argue that anarchism is a negative social theory. These people fail to see the dialectic of existence. For a person to opt out of role playing it is not sufficient to state the case and remain within a structure which reproduces role playing. This is true of all kinds of liberation and emancipation if they are going to be taken seriously. Many brothers and sisters, in the name of liberation and emancipation, further egotism, manipulative practices and promote their personal, and sectional interests, as the only social interests. This is only re-enforcing ideologies and authoritarianism. The negativity of Anarchism is dialectically the only positive approach to revolutionary change. To preserve social, economic and political structures based on hierarchies; to divide people into classes: workers vs intellegentsia, man vs woman, superiority vs inferiority; to talk of nationalism as a revolutionary concept, is to produce revolutionary miscariges which our century is full of. Anarchism is socialism without government, communism without the state, where people organize themselves in voluntary associations based on cooperation, solidarity, equality and freedom.

Bolshevism, as a theory of the government of the "communist" majority, cannot be a revolutionary theory, it is rather a reactionary one. It espouses an implacable dictatorship of the majority whose line is correct, wisdom infinite and whose morality is beyond reproach. Bolshevism is the social structure where bourgeois solipsism finds its best expression: Stalin, Mao, Castro of the new generation, and Lenin and Trotsky of the old one. "Without a doubt"-writes Anchinoff, "Bolshevism is a historic event in Russian and international life. It is not only a social but also a psychological manifestation. It inspired a large number of individuals-staborn, authoritarian, lacking all social or moral sentimentality and prepared to make use of any means in the struggle for their triumph.Bolshevism also pushed forward a leader perfectly suited to this task... The basic psychological trait of Bolshevism is the realisation ot its will by means of the violent elimination of all other wills. (1)"

Bolshevism is the materialization of the social-democracy, the left wing of the bourgeoisie. It stands for a society based on capital: national, multi-national and bureaucratic. It promotes law and Hierarchical order to maintain itself. It is pyramidal structure of commissariocracy with the people at the bottom supporting a superstructure of parasitic apparatchiks and bureaucrats. In Bolshevism are embodied the best features of legalitarian socialistic theory which, a century ago, was criticized by the anarchists as leading to a regime of exploitation, slavery, inequality and brutality. All these features are a characteristic part of capitalism, private, state or bureaucratic. Bolshevism, thus, may well claim a respectable place in the capitalist-bourgeois order.

From the above sketchy description of anarchism and bolshevism, it becomes evident that they are on the opposite poles of the social spectrum: anarchism- a revolutionary movement, bolshevism a left-wing bourgeois alternative. This, without tears and sentimentality is the real picture. Somehow, in the arena of history the issue is not so clear due to ideological componnents that enter political activity.

The Bolsheviks claim also to be communists which is a contradiction in terms. Bolshevism being a democratic concept related to representative democracy i.e. delegation of power, is contrary to communism which is based on the community as a unit of social organization where functions are not delegated and direct action is the operative principle. But politics being of Machiavellian nature: says one thing and understands another, or as Marx says: "When the bourgeoisie talks of butter they mean guns", everything is possible. It is the vurtue of ideology to deceive and to falsify issues. The Bolsheviks, by declaring themselves "communists" (a term now generally applied to all communist parties) identified themselves with the working class and the oppressed. Thus, they were able to transfer the battle for the emancipation of the proletariat into a battle for capturing the government and establishing a new class domination: that of the Bolsheviks.

Bolshevism is the most excellent historical case of the function of ideology. The bolsheviks accepted the soviet system only to destroy it and, with it, any opportunity for an independent workers organization. As Lenin puts it: "We leave to ourselves the state power, only to ourselves... it is necessary that everything should be subjected to the Soviet power and all the illusions about some kind of "inependence' on the part of detached layers of population or workers' co-operatives should be lived down as soon as possible... there can be no question of independence on the part of separate groups...(2)."

The bolsheviks fought against the bourgeoisie only to preserve its institution and to put in it's place the red bourgeoisie. Martov, a social democrat and ex co-worker of Lenin, writes on the subject: "Now it appears that their (the bolsheviks) way to a social order that would be free from the State lies in the hypertrophy - the excessive development - of these functions and in the resurrection, under an altered aspect, of most State institutions typical of the bourgeois era. The shrewd people continue to repudiate democratic parliamentarism. But they no longer repudiate, at the same time, those instruments of State power to which parliamentarism is a counterweight within bourgeois society: bureaucracy, police, a permanent army with commanding cadres that are independent of the soldiers, courts that are above control by the community etc.

"In contrast to the bourgeois State, the State of the Transitional revolutionary period ought to be an apparatus for the 'repression of the minority by the majority'. Theoretically, it should be a government apparatus resting in the hands of the majority. In reality, the Soviet State continues to be, as the State of the past, a government apparatus resting in the hands of minority(of another minority, of course).(3)."

Communism, in the Bolshevik frame of reference, is an ideology behind which lurks one of the worst oppressions of the proletariat. Not only the means of production are not owned by and under the control of the community and the workers, but they are owned and control by the State. The workers have no say whatsoever. Equalitarian distribution is a myth and the biggest share of the national product goes in the pockets of those who work less or don't work at all. Community is an illusiory point of reference because no vestiges are left of it. Planning is the work of bureaucrats who never participate in production and for whom the workers are abstract units stripped of all humanity and turned into statistical objects. In other words, in the bolshevik-communist state, the workers are reduced to abject poverty and slavery.

Revolution for the bolsheviks is a commodity for export only. Domestic consumption is severely prohibited because of its highly inflamable nature. Any revolutionary carrier threatens the fabric of the bolshevik social order and, therefore, is dealt properly and mecilessly.

Sovietism,the committee of workers, peasants and the red army soldiers, which happened to be a new form of mass organization and a vehicle of social communist reconstruction, was turned into a weapon of oppression by the bolsheviks. Soviet state, as Martov had pointed out: "shows a tendency towards the development of a more specialized apparatus of oppression than before (4)." What a mockery and sacrilege to the memory of those who gave their lives to build a new, just and communist society, a society without masters and exploitators.

With these sketches of bolshevism as an ideology, I argue that Bolshevik-Communism is slavery, exploitation, brutality, a paradise for the bureaucrats and a hell for the workers. I may be branded as a reactionary by the various Marxist-Leninists but I prefer a frank language. The real reactionaries are those who suppress people's initiative and workers independence. And this is bolshevik-communism in its pragmatic application and there is no argument. When the facts talk the Gods are silent.

It is useless of Marxist scholars to humanize Marx, to discover and rediscover him, to define and redefine socialism, to talk of socialism with a humane face and yet neglect all relevant facts, suppress the unpalatable evidence and above all, quote Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin as their mentors.

All state socialism, from the social democracy to the bolshevik-communism without exception, is reactionary. It cannot be otherwise because of the logic of state socialism itself. To create myths and falsehoods may benefit somebody but it does not benefit socialist ideas.

Myth may be necessary for a religious doctrine but it has no positive value for an authentic atheistic culture such as communism. Falsehood may be a passport for some intellectuals to gain admitance to a Marxist church or to become a governing body in the future state society. It may promote the cause of the socialist elites but never the cause of the workers and socialism itself.

Communism and socialism, if stripped of their ideological contents are nothing but forms of libertarian organizations where people organize their life themselves.

It is at this stage of history that anarchism enters the socialist movement as a conscious element of the masses towards autonomy and emancipation. Anarchism is a movement of anti-ideology even if individual anarchists may be ideologically inclined. As such it opposes bolshevism in all its domains: political, social, personal and economic. It is the complete negation of bolshevism.

Anarchism is a revolutionary movement because it stands for total destruction. By this I mean dismantling of all ideological armours that surround personal and social relationships. Bakunin's statement that a destructive urge is a creative urge is correct if put in proper perspectives. No equality, no emancipation, can be achieved if personal, socio-political and economic hierarchies are preserved. A chained freedom is never freedom and a chained person never a free person even if one has an illusion of freedom. To talk of personal fulfilment, individuality and liberation and yet admit a hierarchical social order is to fail to undrstand the nature of hierarchy. Hierarchy is based on sado-masochism, inferiority-superiority, domination-subservience, ordering -obedience and role playing differentiations. What ensues from it is slavery.

Thus, anarchism and bolshevism are definetely two opposite social views: one revolutionary, the other -reactionary. For anarchism to triumph, for the revolution to materialize, for the masses to be liberated and emancipated, for socialism to take its genuine read, bolshevism ought to go. Bolshevism is incompatible with the Social Revolution. In conclusion I agree with a statement by the Machnovist in

April 27, 1920: Only through the destruction of the state by means of a social revolution can the genuine Worker-Peasant soviet system be realized and can we arive at SOCIALISM (5)."

Jack the A.

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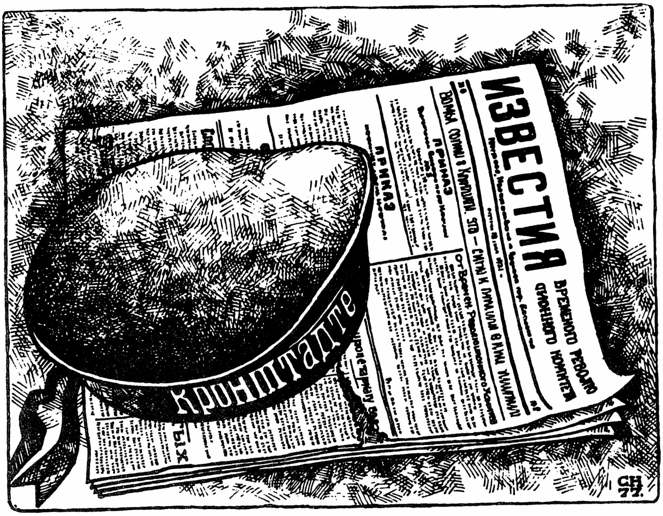
THE ANARCHISTS IN THE



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Anatole Gorelik was 32 years of age in 1922. He was a school teacher. As an young anarchist he fought in the Ukrain and many times was arrested by the Tsarist police. In 1909 he emigrated to France. He went to Russia secretely but had to returned to France where he joined the syndicalist movement. In 1913 he emigrated to the U.S.A and fought in I.W.W. and the Union of Russian Workers. In 1916 he and Kornuk founded the first Russian Syndicalist journal The Worker Word which, later on, changed to Golos Truda (The Voice of Labour).

After the February Revolution in 1917 he returned to Russia and fought in the district of Ekaterinoslav and the Donetz Basain. In 1919 he was the secretary of the group Nabat in Melitipol. He fought with the underground during the German-Austrian occupation and against Denikin. He was the secretary of hebrew language information and propaganda section. In 1920 he worked in the Commissariat of Public Education in the Ukrain. Arrested by the bolsheviks, after they broke the treaty with the Machnovists, he was taken off to Moscow. Freed on the 6th January 1921, he continued his activity in Moscow and especially among the students. Rounded up on the 8th of March, at the time of Kronstadt uprising, he was condemned to 3 years in a concentration camp as an "anarchist counter-revolutionary". Held until 17th September, after 10 days of hunger strike and the scandal at the Red Trade Union Congress, he was expelled from Russia with 10 others at the end of 1921.

The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution was written in March 1922 not long after his expultion from Russia. The virulent and biting character of the article is but an authentic description of the authoritarian socialist reality under bolshevism.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

A day will come when a proper history of Libertarian movement in the Russian Revolution will be written. In this study only a general outline can be drawn of with continuity and clarity. If I succeed in presenting this overview I will consider my task fulfilled.

Few names will be mentioned because names out of concrete actions are mere words. On the other hand, not all important actions can be recalled. I will neither talk of forms of organizations, which have to be studied separately nor consider questions of programmes which have been numerous and pretty important to be satisfactorily dealt here. It needs to be mention that, at the beginning of the Revolution, there have not been many differences in programmes. Basicly we were involved in libertarian propaganda in order to destroy political prejudices, economic superstitions and to spread the ideas of the new forms of social relations based on Libertarian principles. There were some attempts at synthetizing the Libertarian movement.

In the course of the Russian Revolution the anarchists differed on issues of orientation. Those who considered the October' Coup d'Etat as the Social Revolution and consequently adopted the views of the "the dictarorship of the proletariat", of "the transitional period" and established an " united front with the Bolsheviks", and those who rejected all dictatorship and who were for a libertarian front only, thus clearly separating themselves from the Bolshevik-communists.

The view in favour of the dictatorship and the transitional period led many libertatiens to anarcho-bolhsevism (soviet-anarchism) or simply to joining the bolshevi-communist party.

Many among those who entered the "party" and, especially, those who supported the dictatorship and the transitional period, later sudden denly abandoned this "anarcho-bolshevism" and violently criticized the bolsheviks. Nevertheless, their position remained fundamentally the same: they supported the necessity of a transitional and authoritarian period, which they qualify as syndicalist-communist.

Yestarday we struggled against the extremism of individualism, expropriationism, terrorism etc,. Today we have to fight even more audaciously against,open and camouflaged as anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists, the partisans of anarcho-bolshevism.

These issues must be studied properly in order to understand the role they had played in the Russian Revolution and the one they will play in the coming Social Revolution.

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The old pillars of society collapsed. Petrograd was in turmoil and all Russia followed it. The moment the Russian people ceased to admire the Romanoves, their shaky throne collapsed easily and virtually without victims and bloodshed.

But many political charlatans threw themselves into the raging Revolution in order to gain benefits or to save their privileges. All became revolutionaries. All became leaders of the people: "Rodzianko-head of the Russian Revolution", Kerensky - the leader of the Russian People", Duma's committee at the head of the movement" etc.

In fact the people of Petrograd were the ones who directed the events and pushed Rodziankos forward. Kerensky and the other Dumas' committees played into the hands of the masses until, they too, were challenged and rejected.

While the Duma, Rodzianko, Kerensky, Miliukov and the political coteries were occupied with making a constitution, the anarchist Khudakov arrested Nikolas II at Dno Station and thus made null and void the question of the constitution(2). The throne collapsed! The monarchy was dead!

Russia, the big bear of the north was waking up. The people incited to action began to throw off one after another all parasites: landowners, politicians, governers and gendarmes who were no longer sure where to go. The officers hurried to cover their stripes in red and the bourgeois hid frightened behind their windows.

Everywhere the wretched people began to chase the "beau monde". The Marseillaise of Work and the thunder of applauses which accompanied the heated debates brought fear to the upper classes and the bourgeoisie. A new sentiment was in the air -a thirst for justice! The workers demanded what was due to them and often took it themselves!

Nobody obeyed. The initiatives came from everywhere. Nobody was at the head of the Russian Revolutionary movement. As soon as many anarchists and socialists from abroad and Siberian exiles and deportees returned, slogans, calls to action, promises and advertisements flourished. Turning from the leaders of yesterday the masses searched for new leaders, as the proverb says: "The king is dead! Long live the king!" From that time on the anarchists and the bolsheviks had a radicalizing effect on the revolutionary movement.

The anarchists had already played an important role. At their permanent residence, the hotel Durnovo, confronting the workers the anarchists took a position of unrelentless defiance to the old world. In Kronstadt where the libertarian affirmation found solid revolutionary ground; in Moscow when the anarchists penetrated all spontaneous workers' organizations; in Kharkov, in Ekaterinoslav, in the Doneth Basain, Don, Kiev, Odessa, in the all south and also in Ural and Siberia the anarchists were engaged in an active libertarian propaganda. This made them known to the toiling masses of workers and peasants. In many places, local and district conferences took place (3). When I arrived in Vladivostok, the local soviet wanted to prevent the anarchist emigrants from entering European Russia in order to sent them to the army or the front. Due to the anarchist influence among the masses, the garrison, composed of four regiments and some batteries, demanded our immediate departure to the districts of our origin and turned their guns towards the city. Faced with this menace the socialist- revolutionaries and the social-democrats (mensheviks) who had the majority in the soviet had nothing more to say.

Already at that time a struggle had brewed among the local anarchists and bolshevik militants. However, for the time being, a common destiny united them. Many anarchists (4), especially among the intellectuals were won over to Leninism by the great deceptive phrazeology of Lenin and the other social-democratic bolsheviks. While these anarchists continued to criticize the bolshevik "centralizers" they adopted slogans such as: "The Social Revolution has begun in Russia", The difference between anarchists and bolsheviks is as thin as a cigarette paper". "Long live the proletarian dictatorship", "All power to the soviet". "Towards the anti-etatist socialism, towards anarchism by the dictatorship of the proletariat"!

The anarchist propaganda spread to numerous industrial centres and villages. As a result, quite a number of anarchists in Petrograd, Moscow, Ekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Odessa, Irkutsk and Vladivostok, without mentioning the Donetz Basain(5), were nominated to the factory committees by the workers. This was equally true of the workers' cultural organisations, professional unions, the soviets and other workers' organizations.

From third to fifth July 1917 the Knonstadt sailors led by anarchists and the rank and file bolshevik militants demonstrated in Petrograd. The Knonstadtiens were disarmed and the anarchist and bolshevik organizations proscribed which brought closer anarchists and bolsheviks. But party and group interests took over the intersts of the working masses and their desire to build a new way of life. Some anarchists preferred to join the Party too. Those anarchists who busied themselves with this rapprochement were the summit, the old anarchists incapable of taking an active part in the mass movement and who knowing many disillusionments were affraid of the fast changes.

The intellectual summit knew nothing of the mental state of the masses. Only an echo of it reached them and mostly in a misleading form. Therefore, instead of inciting the working masses, developing their strength and aspirations, making necessary analyses and furnishing clear libertarian solutions, deepening their libertarian consciousness which was in its rudimentary stage of development. instead of giving theoretical help to the young and dynamic militants and helping the activities of the libertarian movement; they were preoccupied with pointing out the inevitable menace of the bolshevik dictatorship or were completely absorbed in syndicalism, or preached the anarcho-bolshevism. None succeeded in launching an appeal for the creation of a specific libertarian front.

If this could happened there would have been less libertarian victims and better results could have been achieved. In any case the anarchists would not find themselves under the bolshevik heel, and workers' and peasants' organizations with libertarian orientation could have been created. But only the rank and file anarchists, more revolutionary than the leaders, worked in the bosom of the masses.

The libertarian movement which after 3rd- 5th July lost impetus temporarily recovered quickly with a greater animated intensity. From then on the masses promoted and supported the anarchists. On the initiative and the active participation of the libertarian workers, long before October and the famous decrees, the workers took over directly the factories and plants(7). The workers' control in the cities and taking over the land in the country were acts of the workers and the peasants themselves. In the massive land expropriation the libertarian workers played a very important role. Nontheless they were numerously and theoretically weak to re-enforce and to affirm this vast mass creativity. As to the anarchist theoriticians and intellectuals, they were either intoxicated by the revolutionary atmosphere or completely by passed by the events.

Personally, I have considered and always will consider that there has never been a social revolution in Russia before or after October 26th. Therefore any libertarian front, that is, any creation of workers and peasants anti-authoritarian free organisations similar to the organization of the libertarian forces in 1917 would not have been sufficient to realize the social revolution in Russia. But what it could possibly do was to build a large mass movement of libertarian workers and peasants and thus put a solid foundation for a social revolution.

Called by the workers of the Donetz Basain I had established myself in Ekaterinoslav. There I had encountered great sympathy towards the libertarian ideas, sympathy which is hardly imaginable today. At the time, had the anarchists wanted to recruit for an anarchis "party" in the sole Doneth Basain, they could count on hundreds of thousands of members. Unfortunately there were very few anarchist militants with sound theoretical formation, Each week dozens of workers' representatives and delegates from various sides and districts of Basain and Donetz region were asking for orators, agitators and political literature and, above all, for a moral and theoretical help. But no militants were available on the sides. I had been writing to Petrograd and Moscow where the greatest majority of well known anarchists lived but of no avail. Nonetheless, the libertarian thought disseminated among the masses became a primary revolutionary force.

It is possible to estimate the anarchist influence on the masses before October from the positions adopted by the Bolsheviks headed by the ultra-marxist, Lenin. The latter, in fact, were forced to forsake and throw overboard a great deal of their Marxist as well as Leninist language and began to talk of "Bakuninism", federalism, negation of state power, free and spontaneous initiative, autonomous mass organizations, soviet power and even of anarchism (8).

At the anarchist congress of Kharkov it became clear that the anarchist had a strong influence in all industrial centres: the Donetz region, Ural, Petrograd, Moscow, in the most of the Siberian towns, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Odessa, Kiev, Rostov and others. In many of these places (Donetz Basain, Ekaterinovlav and others) the anarchists were leading the masses.

I will not talk of the official congresses and conferences, of the resolutions of Kronstadt soviet, of the resolutions of the first conference of factory and plant committees in Petrograd. This had been covered by the press at the time.

A profound change was taking place among the peasants. They had the land. Their hopes were realized. But how to live without police and masters? How to organize themselves fraternally? How to organize life along the new lines? These were the questions facing the peasants. I can personally furnish much evidence and many facts to prove that the peasants were in a revolutionary state of mind, were progressive and had pure and authentic communist tendencies. Particularly this was true of the Ukraine. Hundreds of delegates from various towns came to Ekaterinoslav to see me and ask for advice and instructions on how to build the new life - the Commune(10). I would have never suspected that among the Ukrainian peasants such a thirst for knowledge and enlightenment existed. The thirst for something new and better took hold over all. In many towns the peasants had already prepared the ground to put into practice the principle of communal life. Evidently the masses were not organized in total communes but in cartels and cooperatives. In other words in a multiplicity of organizations of solidarity of which a separate study would be necessary.

I only mentioned these examples to show how deep the ideas of community, solidarity, fraternity, the anti-statist life -the libertarian ideas, were alive among the worker and peasant masses (11). This, in my opinion, could explain why the bolsheviks, on the road to power had to use libertarian catchwords and why many anarchists went along with them. On the one side, those anarchists overestimated the creative outburst of the masses and, on the other, underestimated the nature of bolshevism.

October came naturally as if it was in the order of things. Nobody was astonished, because the basis of the old order had already collapsed a month or so. The old world was vanishing leaving the way free to a new one, to a new life. On all fronts -Kornilov offensive in the nord, the Cossacks in the south- the young revolutionary forces were on the attack.

In this the anarchists played a very important role. Within Petrograd they fought together with the workers and Kronstadtiens. They lead a detachment of Kronstadtiens against Kaledin. The Tcherniakov's group in the Donbas, the Briantsy in Ekaterinoslav and many other anarchist detachments fought against the whites . I mentioned the latter to indicate not only the existence of anarchist detachments but their participation and their decisive role in defeating of the whites.

However, these battles produced an essential evolution on libertarian thought and in the anarchist movement. In the libertarian ranks the gun took precedence. All the youth and all those who did not yet have quite clear anarchist ideas joined the detachments and participated in all military activities to the end of the civil war. Many lost their lives, many entered the ranks of the Red Army and are still there. But the majority of these comrades were lost for anarchism. And all that was created painstakingly: the gathering and organizing of libertarian forces, the work that was done in the bosom of the worker and peasant masses- all these crumbled and scattered. Little by little the libertarian thought lost its importance for the revolution.

As for the bolsheviks, they did not sleep. Hesitant, vacillating between soviets and the Constituent Assembly they were determined, by all means, to settle firmly in the Winter Palace. This occured in January (only 2 months after the 25th October). Not having the majority of the votes in the elections, faced with the accomplished fact that the Constituent Assembly was already dispersed by the marines led by the anarchist Zelezniakov, the bolsheviks decided to reject the Constituent Assembly.

Then, as now, the bolshevik policies were determined by relation to force.

Nonetheless, locally, the revolution continued. The people continued their assault; the echo of the revolutionary thunderstorm continued to extend and the masses were searching ways to a new life.

The October coup d'etat found the anarchists divided and prepared badly theoretically. The majority were completely absorbed fighting against the reactionary and bourgeois parties. They considered the bolshevik political putsch as a social revolution and thus left themselves be manipulated by the bolshevik demagogy.

The anarchists were so much attached to the growing force of the revolution, so much impressed by the reported victories against the reaction as to forget that the bolshevik-marxists took over the government. They literally believed in the words written on the red standard: socialist federalist republic of Russia.

In the libertarian movement of 1917 there were many comrades who had come back from their exile in the West where the industrial proletariat dominated scene and where syndicalism constituted an important factor in the struggle of the working class for emancipation.

These comrades, having little experience, added their voices to the bolshevik slogans: "dictatorship of the proletariat", "united front" and "transitional period". They ignored the issue of the relationship between anarchism and dictatorship and , also. the fact that that the dictatorship of the proletariat meant a dictatorship of a small group of workers over several million peasants. They never pondered on the nature of the united front between the centralizing etatist parties and the anti-etatist decentralizing ones in the constructive revolutionary process. Finally they had certainly lost the sight that the social revolution, the period of building a new life, has no need of a transitional period. Even worse, these comrades mistook the dictatorial coup d' etat for a social revolution despite the appearance of Sovnarkom(12), which took decisions and enacted decrees.

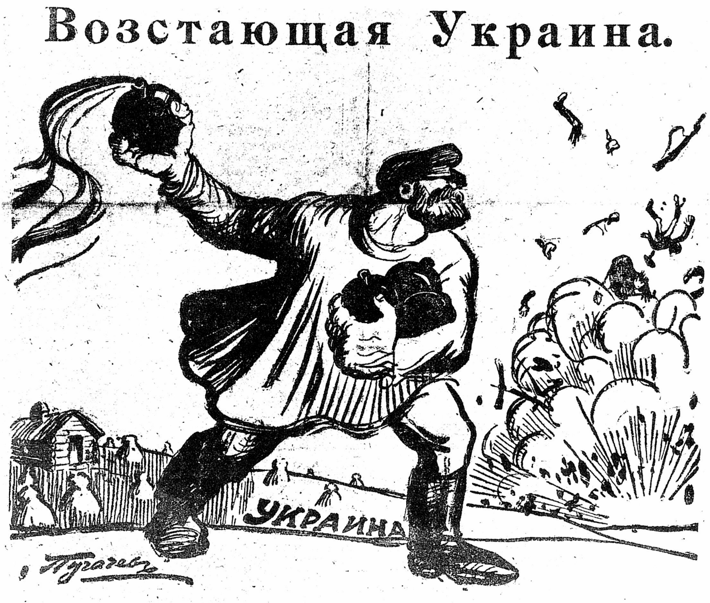
The above mentioned attitudes led, with some exception, to most of the anarchist militants collaborating with the bolsheviks in the governmental institutions, despite their constant criticism of etatism and centralism. It would have been better to exploit the weakness of the notion of power among the masses as well as the weakness of the bolshevik governmental organizations and propagate vigorously libertarian ideas. Instead of contributing theoretically and practically to the problems of an economic reconstruction of the country on authentic bases(13); instead of being among the masses doing libertarian work, and answering the anxious questions posed by the worker and peasant masses on the possibility of a new social form of relationship and the new practice it entails; numerous anarchists, especially the anarchist intelligentsia , resolutely defended the bolshevik tactic, considered their presence at governmental levels as inevitable and appealed to the rank and file anarchists to work "creatively" with the bolsheviks (14). Many who entered the Party continued to call themselves anarchists and those who occupied positions with the government preserve them till today (15). Well or less known anarchist militants , who were in charge of the foreign information, were informing the new comers to Russia too. It was them who flooded Europe with letters containing sensational news. In them they talked of the "social revolution" and "the rising dawn of the East" while numerous anarchists were already shot and hundreds more, under the most bizarre accusations and futile pretexts, such as: anarcho-bandits, anarcho-machnovists and anarchist counter-revolutionaries, had been languishing in prisons. It took a longtime, especially after the Kronstadt insurrection, for the eyes of some of those comrades to open. All this indicates a misunderstanding of the bolshevik putsch in October, of the relationship between anarchists and bolsheviks, and of the true nature of the Russian Revolution.

Notwithstanding, thanks to hundreds of anarchist militants who had remained in the bosom of the masses, the libertarian ferment amidst the masses developed. the anarchists won the sympathy of the masses in the most industrial centres. They published the central organ of the Postal workers. Entire railway sectors, the Donetz basin and the industrial district of Don were under their influence. If, for example, one considers one of the centres of Donets- Ekaterinoslav, one can see that the secretariat of the metalurgic, bakers', bootmakers'', forest workers', tailors', manual workers', flowermills' and many other unions were anarchist. In the factory committees of Briansk, Gantkeh, Dnieprovsky, Shaduard, Trubny, Funklin, in the workshops of Dnieprovsky, in the Russian cement association and many other places the anarchists were numerous. Many secretaries of these committees were anarchists. At the time of the October putsh, a demonstration of 80,000 took place headed by the Anarchist federation of Ekaterinoslav and the workers of Briansk with black flags.

At a general regional conference many factory and plant delegates contacted and asked the anarchists to help the workers to take all the production in their hands. These ordinary workers sat three days and nights to study such issues. The bolsheviks had to use all their "influence" such as: stopping supply of necessary finance, primary materials, transport etc. to make the workers of Ekaterinoslav submit to and recognize the power of state bureaucracy. Similar cases were reported in other big cities such as: Kharkov, Odessa, Kiev, Mariopol, Rostov, Petrograd, Moscow, and Irkutsk.

In the countryside, especially in the Ukraine, libertarians had done very prolific work which permitted the rise of an autonomous revolutionary and insurrectional movement. Despite so many vicissitudes and betrayals, the movement maintained its anti-authoritarian principles and became the idea - force of a new life in the bosom of the peasantry; the idea which, despite the central power, remained deeply rooted among the peasantry. Obviously this was due to groups of insurgent combatants, incorrectly referred to as Makhnovtchina. In fact the Makhnovtchina consisted of numerous detachments which, due to common danger, came together.

Despite the fact that the greater part of the anarchist intellectuals deserted and left the movement, there were at least 40 newspapers, weekly and monthly in the big Russian towns. There were as many as one hundred publications, newspapers and periodicals during the revolution. Some disapeared soon, other lasted longer. It will be of in-



УКРАИНСКІЙ КРЕСТЬЯНИНЪ. — Вы требуете мой хлѣбъ?.. Такъ вотъ же вамъ хлѣбъ!..

Cartoon of the 'Insurgent Ukraine', signed 'Pugachev', the name of the famous eighteenth-century Cossack rebel and forerunner of Makhno.

terest to mention some without evaluating them or taking sides: In Petrograd and Kronstadt: Golos Truda, Burevestnik Svobodnaia Komuna. Volny Kronstadt: in Moscow: Anarchia, Trud i Volia, Volny Golos Truda, Podpolnia Anarchia, Universal and Volnaya Jisn; in Kharkov: Khleb and Volia, Rabotchaya Misl, Nabat; in Kiev: Svoboda vnutri nas; in Rostov: Anarchist; in Ekaterinoslav: Golos Anarchista . . .

There were alos journals and magazines in Saratov, Odessa, Elizabethgrad, Gulyai-Polye, and many other places. Finally in the all big cities impotant libertarian literature was published and distributed in all the country side. Phamphlets and proclamations were printed in hundreds and thousand.

In all of Russia the anarchists were at work. They convened congresses, conferences, assemblies, regular anarchist meetings and created various committees. The bolsheviks were alarmed at the quick growth of the anarchist influence among the worker and peasant masses. They used the first possible pretext to destroy all the anarchist organizations in the country. In anticipation the bolsheviks began a vast campaign of denigration, using the most base means to create impressions among the people that criminals and confirmed counter-revolutionaries were hiding among the anarchists(16). For this purpose the bolsheviks utilized all the arsenal of lies and dastardliness which they had inherited from their masters: Marx, Engels, Leibknecht and others but, having the power, they surpassed them.

On an April night in 1918 the attack against the Moscow anarchist who were living in 26 residences began. That evening having just distributed some reams of paper to the anarchists, the bolsheviks armed with submachine guns and cannons, without warning (17), opened fire on the houses where the anarchists were peacefully asleep. In many suburbs the anarchists, believing it to be the work of the Whites, defended themselves tenaciously. The noise of the submachine guns and the sound of the cannons could be heard all through the night.

Bela Kun, the future president of the Hungarian soviet republic, personally led the raid as a result of which the anarchist organizations were dissolved, the clubs closed, the anarchist newpapers proscribed and all the anarchist literature was seized and destroyed. At the same time Trotsky, in the name of the bolsheviks, was negotiating with the American Red Cross president in Russia- Robbins, offering to open a front against Germany and help the Entente, if they would recognize the the bolshevik government.

Not long after this, the peace treaty with German imperialism was signed. Following the assasination of Count Mirbach - the German Ambassador, the bolsheviks killed 500 left Social Revolutionaries. Then, as the bolshevik representative in Berlin, Joffe, was sending the condolences of his government to Hindenburg and WilliamII over the death of the German Governor in Ukraine- Field Marshal Eichorn, the author of this attentat, the left S.R sailor- Donskoy, was handed over to the German counter-espionage to be tortured to death. Also several thousand others were dying in the hands of the executioners or were left to languish in the prisons of Ukraine and the Don. Obviously, already at the beginning of 1918, the communist-bolsheviks in order to preserve power had betrayed the revolution and the Russian revolutionaries. Thus, it is really amazing to witness the spread all over the world of the legend of the bolhsevik "revolutionaries".

The anarchist role in Ukraine under the Hetman's government was very important. Against both the Germans and Hetman and his officer clique, the masses revolted. Then large scale struggle ensued against the German, French and English occupation forces. Many anarchist insurgent detachments had appeared and the bolshevik press had frequently talked of them. I will refer only to the revolutionary insurrectionist movement known as Machnovtchina whose contribution to the Ruassian revolution was considerable and which the bolsheviks tried to equate with the all Russian anarchist movement (20).

Makhno, an anarchist, was condemned to death in 1907. Due to his age, the death penality was commuted to life imprisonment. He was still chained in Butyrki's jail in 1916. Son of a working peasant of Gulyai Polye, Makhno completed his education in prison. He became a good orator, an enterprising and enthusiastic organizer. He had already played an important role in 1917 in the district of Gulyai Polye and had achieved great popularity among the local workers and peasants. Reappearing illegally in the district in the second half of 1917, he and two of his comrades,answered with act of terrorism against the excesses of the landlords, Germans and other reactionaries committed against the workers. Soon he became very popular among all Ukrainian workers and,at the beginning of 1919, he was already considered a menace by all counter revolutionaries. Detachments of several thousand partisans joined him at the beginning of 1919. Among all the insurgent detachments which were to clean the Ukraine of counter revolutionary troops the Makhnovist detachments took one of the most active parts.

The importance of the struggle of the insurgent partisans against the various counter revolutionary forces should not be underestimated. These detachments of voluntary workers, fighting in an autonomous manner, defended the Russian revolution against the reaction in the South, the East, in Siberia and in Turkestan. The revolutionary war of the partisans was one of the pillars on which the Russian Revolution was based. Future historians will have to take account of it.

Entering the Ukraine soon after it was liberated by the insurgent partisan detachments, the bolsheviks realized that, neither by demagoguery nor by force could they win the support of the workers because the working masses detested any power. At the time, the main body of the insurrectionist forces, led by Makhno (who was proclaimed the division commander by Trotsky) was at the major focal point of the front fighting against general Chkuro, one of the leaders of the White Guards.

Ill equipped, with horses, forage and food supplied by the peasants, the insurgents whose only source of arms was those captured from the enemy, asked the bolsheviks, with whom they jointly held a common front, for arms and equipment. They promissed everything necessory. In reality Trotsky had already prepared his plans to eliminate the Makhnovists as well as Makhño himself, whose popularity and influence he feared the most. At the time I was at Malitopol. On 29th of April 1919, a person arrived from Kharkov to inform me that at a secret meeting of the Central Committee of the Party a decision was taken to liquidate Makhno and to strike a blow at the anarchists, This person was not an anarchist.

Certainly Trotsky did not supply the arms that were previously promised. After many days of desperate resistance the insurgents without munitions were incapable of holding the enemies' offensive and as a result they had to abandon their positions. The rest was done by the infamous order of Trotsky of the 4th of May 1919. The bolshevis were picking up and shooting the revolutionary insurgents without trials while, at the same time, Chkuro was shooting the Makhnovists and pitilessly slaughtering those who were taken prisoner. In Melitopol the bolsheviks shot 69 makhnovists who tried to rejoin the Red Army (22). Many anarchists and left social revolutionaries were arrested while many other were shot. In Kharkov 7 anarchists and left social revolutionaries were shot.

It was by then that the bolsheviks had created an imperialist Red Army based on an iron discipline and centralized hierarchy. This army had to fight against the counter-revolution but also against the revolution. Soon it proved it by destroying the main centres of the revolutionary insurgents (25).

While the anarchists were engaged in an active propaganda, the bolshevik- communists had organized a general repression against them. In Ekaterinoslav all the secretariat of the Anarchist Confederation of the Ukraine - the Nabat, and the majority of militants of the local federations were arrested. Entire federations in Kiev and Odessa were arrested. IN other towns, a severe repression against anarchists took place. In fact, in 1919 during their brief stay in the Ukraine the bolsheviks could not yet break the libertarian spirit: the base remained.

In the north, the repression intensified. Most of the anarchist organizations were scattered or forced into semi-legality. The same was the case in Moscow where, at a conference authorized by the anarcho-syndicalists, all present were arrested. The repression was pitiless but the anarchist intelligentsia was silent because outside of Russia anarchists and communists were cooperating.

In September of 1919 some members of a secret anarchist movement threw a bomb at the party headquater in Moscow in Leontiev street. Despite the fact that nobody doubted the revolutionary sincerity of the attempt, an act against the basness and the betrayal of the bolsheviks, the majority of the official anarchists did not solidarize with but condemned them. A day will come when an impartial historian of the Russian Revolutin will clear the names of the victims of the bolshevik terror.

In the affair of Leontiev Street the bolsheviks found more than one provocateur who under the fear of being executed had to save their heads at the expence of their comrades' life (25). Later on all these provacateurs became members of the R.C.P. A normal occurance because most of the executioners and provocateurs entered the Party, and as members of the Party they have to collaborate everywhere with the Tcheka (26).

Immediately after the explosion of Leontiev Street the anarchists lost all possibility for action. In the north the reppression increased. As soon as the bolsheviks were installed in the Ukraine (after having expulsed the whites once again with the help of the revolutionary insurgents, especially the Makhnovists) they began a merciless campaign of persecution helped by the provacateurs of Leontiev Street who were sent all over the Ukraine. Public meetings and conferences were proscribed. Printing shops were forced to close down and thus the publishing of newspapers became impossible. While this ferocious repression had raged numerous anarchists were dying on the front, side by side with communists, fighting against the white reaction. Only in the North a few mediocre anarchist organizations were left as a show piece for foreigners.

In 1920 the reaction against the left was in its height. Using the external front as a pretext, the bolsheviks suppressed all freedom of thought and expression. They suffocated the slightest inclination towards freedom. Anyone who dared to show indignation or to protest was shot without pity. Finally in the Ukraine and in Siberia the movements of malcontent were drowned in blood. The insurgent masses which spent all their time in the armed struggle had, henceforth, to call into account the misdeeds committed by the bolsheviks and thier zealots in the countryside and in the towns. Also they evoked the promises of October. But they had no independent press anylonger, revolutionary organizations were all dissolved and the revolutionaries were locked up or in hiding.

Even if the anarchist legality had already disappeared, the anarchist propaganda continued intensely in the most remote places of the country. Sometimes it reached to the real foundation of the Communist Party. It touched those members who had sincerely believed that it was possible to realize communism from above; that one could stay in power without usurping it; that one could be a member of a repressive party without being bureaucratized; that one could participate in the state machinery without falling into its "comissariocracy". Those members realizing what was happening lost their illusions. The party was shaken and an opposition hatched out. The most honest and forthright militants left the party and thus put themselves in grave danger because all members of the Party had to consider themselves as mobilized. Those resignations and all opposition were dealt with severely. One of the most striking example was the elimination of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party which opposed Moscow even if it was appointed by the pan-Ukrainian Party Congress. It was replaced by a central committee appointed by Moscow, headed by the notorious Iakovlev (Epstein). Those who were dissatisfied were sent to Siberia or Mourmansk. The repression touched not only the revolutionaries but ordinary workers who were grouped in co-operatives or free communes and who wanted to preserve their independence.

Even the Tolstoyian pacifists were severely persecuted. Several hundreds among them were imprisoned and 92 shot (28). Numerous anarchists communes were destroyed under the most falacious pretexts: not observing the decrees or refusing to supply the requisition detachments. On the 1 st October 1920, a disciple of Tolstoy - the pacifist Serge Popov, together with some other anarchists, was arrested at a meeting in Moscow held by Voline. Popov was a vegetarian and ate neither milk products nor eggs. So this terrible enemy of the soviet power was dragged to the basements of the Tcheka and subjected to torture. The same Popov who, in the time of Nikolas II was without passport, who refused to carry arms and who never showed anger to anybody, remained 37 days in the Tcheka's cells while all the Bolsheviks of Moscow knew his convictions. In 1921 he, together with me, was arrested by the communist students at the Building Institute of Moscow and accused as a counter-revolutionary for "urging the overthrow of the Soviet power by arms". A Tolstoyan appealing to armed resistance!

In the Ukrainian countryside the following saying circulated: "Under the Bolsheviks even the horses and the cows are counter-revolutionaries." The commune, in the district of Kharkov, to which I, together with some other old anarchist comrades, belonged was literary pillaged and sabotaged by the authorities. Besides all kinds of obstacles they put in our way, the Tcheka has often visited us, while official and unofficial bodies were doing all possible to jeopardize the commune so that it would return to the "soviet economy". Finally, for having refused to supply, free of charge, three bags of apples to the wife of the president of the regional executive committee, the latter raided the commune, abused us and made the following declaration: " Russia is a communist country and as such it cannot tolerate free and independent unions. All have to submit to the central power!" Gathering of fruit was delayed and the fruit was left to rot although the share due to the state was already taken by the Provisional Bodies of the State in the form of conserves and jams. The guards who kept an eye on us turned away a working party while the local agrarian section, on the pretext that there was a lack of working hands, had confiscated two and half tons of fruit. To our complains, the new commissioner of agriculture, Victorov, answered with promisses but when pressed hard for action, the official documents relating to the affair disappeared magically.

There were many similar cases, but the situation of some communes was worse that our, because they were taken by armed assault, as was the case in the region of Golayai Polye. No longer schools, communes and co-operatives based on libertarian principles were tolerated. Moreover, there was no longer any legal anarchist movement in Russia or the Ukraine. The 2 nd and the 3rd conferences of Nabat took place illegally. Nontheless, the anarchist propaganda continued in most enterprises and towns. Some anarchists, fearing persecution because the communist cells carefully watched every happening and action in the enterprises, declared themselves without a party. In the summer of 1921, watching closely the pan-Russian congress of the trade-unions, I noticed the presence of some anarchists and sympathisers who for obvious reasons could not do anything and declared that they were without a party. Perhaps, this is difficult to believe but it is the harsh truth which does not surprise anybody in Russia.

Anarchist propaganda penetrated deeply among the masses and this was obvious in discussions, meetings and debates. The thirst for reading, the need to understand what had been happening, was so great and imperative, that in many villages, during the summer months, after a hard day's work, the peasants would gather together and, for hours, listen to books being read aloud. In the province of Kiev I saw anarchist journals being circulated in three districts, Even if the type was hardly readible the young peasants read the papers from the top to the bottom. I met in the Ukrainian fields peasants who had read all the anarchist literture from Stirner to Tucker and who could handle the theory even better than professional politicians. Only the example of the Mskhnovtchina suffices to demonstrate that the masses, instinctively and more or less consciously, aspired to a different kind of society - a free society: a society without masters, capitalists, proprietors, governments and authority. Precisely because of that, the bolsheviks, as wells as the White Guards, hated the Ukrainian workers and peasants so much so that they employed all possible means trying to destroy them thoroughly. Therefore, I believe that for a long time it will be difficult for any government to rule undisturbed in the Ukraine.

As a sectetary of the anarchist bureau of the Donets Basin in Ekaterinoslav in 1918, I had been corresponding with 1,400 villages. What a variety of questions and interests! What a thirst for knowledge, for enlightenment! What a curiosity to find means, methods and approaches to a new life! What a creative will! Theatres, libraries and cultural enterprises of all kinds were of great interest in the Ukrainian countryside. In every conversation with delegates, in every letter, the needs in building new schools, the aspiration towards the creation of free communes and free unions were expressed. Today, despite extensive bolshevik repression, these concerns remain wide spread. In 1920 in the Ukraine, particularly in the Donets Basin sheltered from communist inspection, the workers hold meetings to discuss ways to construct life on libertarian bases. The communist cells had been systematically confiscating all anarchist pamphlets and documents. In some suburbs, the local worker and peasant delegates were holding clandestine meetings. The following issues were raised: building new forms of life style; exchange between the country and the city; free soviets and free trade-unions. Programmes were well stated but badly edited and often confuse. Nevertheless they reflected a serous approach to the problems.

In the Donets Basin some Party committees and some Communist organizations were totally composed of anarchist workers. It is to be said that the Donets Basin, with an exclusively workers population, is to such an extent contaminated with anti-authoritarian and libertarian tendencies that neither Trotsky, nor Lomov, nor Dzerzhinskii, in spite of all coersive measures (deportation to the North, displacement of populations, arrests, fines etc) have yet succeeced in establishing their "Communist Order".

Only those anarchists who were above the masses and were busy with their own self-proclaiming scribbles could not see the profound changes that were taking place in the bosom of the masses. I dont think I am overestimating this phenomenon. However, I am well aware that this instincive interest in the building of a new life on an anti-statist basis , which has always existed and will continue to exist, will nevertheless founder without a theoretical foundation.

Equally intensive libertarian work was taking place among the workers. The State workers' organizations began to weaken and were abandoned by the workers. Only a few fools remained in them so that the "official" representatives of the trade-unions could talk in the "name" of the workers. The spirit of organization had not disappeared but was transfered to the field of production. Without any help, rather against the will of the official bodies, the workers were fighting a courageous struggle to defend their own interests against the many attempts of private and state capitalism. There were thousands of strikes, some of which involved whole towns and districts populated by several million workers. These strikes against the will of the state trade-unions and the bolshevik soviets had lasted for weeks and months and often were put down by submachine guns: Kharkov at the end of 1920, Moscow, Petrograd and many other towns in February 1921 are irrefutable examples on which the future historian of the workers' movement and the Russian revolution have to ponder.

The various cultural organizations were taken over by the state which put on theatrical plays and organized other activities but all controlled by the bolsheviks. It is interesting to know that the workers still had their own illegal organizations and these small illegal clubs attracted among others some communist workers.

In the big towns the teachers despatched via the railway network anarchist educational material and literature. Those teachers, who were often communists themselves, also gathered opinions and views on the basis of which were to be prapared projects on the organization and centralization of factory and plant production, transportation, agrarian production and exchange. One of the project entitled: "Common union between town and country" was elaborated in detail by worker members of the Communist Party and many wellknown ex-commissars. At a meeting of the Free Communists (this is how they referred to themselves) I saw the former Tcheka's district president of the Railways, who, in the meantime had become a worker again, to serve as a watchman

The youth were not passive either. But without the possibilities to create organizations and free unions, to have locals, library and be able to move freely around they had to join the Communist Youth Union and thus were virtually unable to do anything at all. In 1920, at a conference of the Ukrainian youth one third of the delegates were anarch.

istically oriented. The youth joined the communist youth because their was no other outlet open to them. In 1920, when Zinoviev visited Kharkov, a curious thing occured: some youth went to the magazine "Free Fraternity" and asked for Kropotkin's writings to refute the Zinoviev clique. In moments of some freedom, that is, when an agreement was signed between the Soviet government and the Makhnovist movement, the anarchist had authorization to act freely. Then this Union of the Communist Youth wanted to adopt openly the name - anarchist. Clearly this was the case among workers, peasants, red soldiers and also among the school students. And I have to acknowledge that I have heard some anarchists, cut off from reality, to refer to the masses as reactionaries!

The periods of liberty indicated clearly the real state of mind of the masses. During October and until 25th of November 1920 the Ukrainian workers and peasants were again living as in the great outburst of 1917. In Kharkov the thirst for freedom, thinking and free expression pushed the masses towards libertarian ideas despite the surveilliance of the Tcheka with its clouds of spies and provacateurs. During conferences the anarchist club was so crowded that it was impossible either to enter or to leave. Notwithstanding many workers and red soldiers gathered outside. The Menshevik club was in the same building but the workers rarely visited it. At one of their meetings to discuss Makhnovtchina there were only 17 present: 2 anarchists and 15 mensheviks.

In all plants and factories the anarchists were accepted not only fraternally but also as reliable friends. Very often the workers had not allowed other orators to speak. By saying that I don't think I overestimate the nature of this phenomenon but that it typifies the masses' frame of mind and their attitudes towards the anarchists. The newspaper "Nabat" printed in three thousands copies (the bolsheviks would not allow more to be printed) was distributed to the plants, factories and Red Army units. Each received one to four copies, circulated from hand to hand until they became rags. There was no factory where anarchists were not invited. The communist cells closed their meetings when any debate started because the workers demanded anarchist participation. Finally, the locomotive factory where 5,000 workers were employed went on strike, despite all threats, and demanded precise revolutionary measures of which the official communist press, at the time, had always talked. At the cooperative school, where near 30 anarchists and 500 sympathisers were stydying, the pupils began a regular course on anarchism with the participation of this author.

Also there was a strong movement in the Red Army Units. The anarchists were accepted warmly in all units. On the day of the opening of the anarchist congress the Red Army Units were preparing a demonstration of sympathy.

A significant fact, worth mentioning, happened: Representatives of several Red Army Units met with the anarchists in Kharkov and proposed to them to take power in their name. This rather interesting and characteristic fact indicates the degree of influence the anarchists had among the people and, at the same time, how anarchism can be misunderstood. The special detachment of Sovrakom (The Council of Peoples" Commissariat of the Ukraine) was on the side of the anarchists also. If the anarchists wanted to become political adventureres, like the bolsheviks, they could have, at that moment, taken power in all the Ukraine.

This single period shows that the revolutionary spirit among the masses was not dead and that the libertarian, anti-statist, decentralising, self-organizational and free initiative principles penetrated deeply the spirit of the workers even if at an unconscious level. Such a period even opened the eyes of certain pessimists.

This was the state of affair all over the Ukraine: hundred of itinerant peasant and worker delegates came to see the anarchists, believing that in Anarchism they would discover the answers to their hopes.

During this period the Revolutionary Inserrectionist Army (the Makhnovtchina) was helping the Red Army to realize in 13 to 15 days what the latter, with its iron discipline and centralism, could not realize in a whole year. It helped it to defeat and destroy all the Wrangels Army and to clean all Southern Russia of counter-revolutionary armies.

The anarchist congress was going to take place in Kharkov on 1st of December 1920. Delegates began to arrive from all Russian regions. But the quick growth of anarchist influence was judged inopportune by the boldheviks and, as a consequence, they began in the night of 26th November 1920 the mass arrest of anarchists and Makhnovists all over the Ukraine. For a week all bodies of the Tcheka and disciplinary detachments of the Red Army functioned without inerruption. Numerous revolutionaries, who had fought against the Whites, side by side with the Red Army, were treacherously arrested and shot. Thousands of anarchists and Makhnovists were imprisoned. Only in Kharkov alone 3,000 persons were arrested of whom 348 are still incarcerated. Among them were active anarchist militants (29) who still lie in the bolshevik gaols. The workers in the Locomotive Plant went on strike and demanded the liberation of the arrested anarchists and, despite all threats, machinguns, orders and ultimatums, they continued their strike of solidarity with the arrested with the effect that the most well known anarchists were transfered during the night to Moscow.

> "But all this took place in the Ukraine. Such a revolutionary spirit and such a dynamism could happen only in the Ukraine, a country where the masses are classically anarchists, the insurrectionist movement endemic and the people are freedom oriented, but in the north, in Russia, where the masses are reactionary, amorphus, backward and where anarchism was crushed in 1917 -19...
> Abandon the idea of work in Moscow, the bolshevik capital, the Red Moscow where there is no place for anarchism."

This was what the more prominent anarchists had been, more or less, saying when I asked them about the prospects of doing some libertarian work in Moscow, soon after my liberation from the Butyrki prison in January 1921. I was convinced that nothing could be done in the anarchist milieu in Moscow. Karelin had told me that one could only find "generals without soldiers". Anyone else I asked answered me with an ironic smile.

Not long after this the Moscow workers began to listen to the anarchist. In February 1921, at Kropotkin 's death the anarchists received a very favourable welcome in the workers' milieu. After Kropotkin's funeral, which re-united a big crowd, there was not a workers' meeting where the anarchists were not invited to attend. Each night workers crowded the club at Leontiev Street instead of the other clubs in the same quarter. Anywhere I participated, at the Leontievsky club, the Ukrainian theatre, the Sergievic, the institutions of higher education (The Mining Accademy, the First University, the Gulitchinsky courses on agronomy, the First Veterinary, the Higher School of Technology, the First School of Building, the School of Architecture) the halls were full and there were always questions and serious discussions.

Even in the Communist Universtiy of Sverdlov existed several dozen sympathazers some of whom were organized in groups. In all institutions of higher education anarchist groups were established and, also, an unified secretariat of all anarchist student . The members of the latter were arrested and some exiled while the others were sent to the province of Archangel.

Worker's Moscow, Moscow the city of labourers was living again the October days as did Kharkov in 1920. A movement of strikes, anger and unrest began and spread among the workers,who demanded the concrete realization of the October promisses, to such an extent that the bolsheviks were seriously worried. Such was the indignation of the masses that even the anarchist "personalities" of Moscow were excited and began to talk of forming soviets of action. In reality, it was difficult to guess what could happened had the people lost their temper: the workers hated the bolsheviks.

In Moscow as in Petrograd secret workers committees of action were formed, composed exclusively of workers. The legend, according to which these committees of action consisted of menshevik, lacks any foundation. The truth of the matter was that the majority of their members considered themselves without a party and sympathetic to the extreme left. Due to the connection I could established with some members of the Moscow Committee, I can affirm that the objectives of the working masses were similar to those of Kronstadt if not quite identical with them.

The premature manoeuvre of the workers in the Khamovnitchesky quarter upset the plans of the Moscow workers and allow the bolsheviks to kill the strike. They knew of the workers committees of action but as the strike threatened to spread to all districts the communists had to mobilized all communist detachments. The soldiers of the Red Army promissed support to the workers. So the well known communist leaders rash to the communist University of Sverdlov to show the gravity of the situation if the trouble were to spread. They also demanded extreme measures. In view of the seriousness of the situation hundreds of students dressed as workers went to the workers meeting in the Khamovnitchesky quarter. The hall in which Kalinin talked was packed by members of the party all dressed as workers who applauded at every oppurtune moment, whereas, the crowd of workers that had gathered outside could not penetrate inside the hall. The workers' delegates of the quarter who went directly to the barracks were received by a machine-guns squad. Two of its members were killed and several others wounded. In Moscow the Red Soldiers were nearly all disarmed. The Kursants, the communit detachements and comanding corps were adequate to complete the task.

It was them that trouble errupted in Petrograd and in some other towns, which was to win the sympathy of the marines of the Kronstadt garrison. Although, what happened in Kronstadt is a well known fact, it is important to stress again that to all offers of financial or other support by the Whites, the Kronstadters refusal was definite.

The resolution adopted on the first of March in the presence of the president of the soviet republic, Kalinin, and for which the Kronstadt Party members also had voted, demands:

Point (2): Freedom of speech and press for the workers and peasants, for the anarchists and the Left Socialist Parties.

Point (7): The abolition of all political offices, since no political party should have privileges for propagating its ideas or receive financial means from the State for this purpose. In their place it is necessary to create educational and cultural commissions elected in each locality and finance by the government. .

But, without doubt, it is rather more significant to quote the bolshevik newspaper of Riga "Novy Put" (The New Road) of 19th March 1921 :

> "The Kronstadt sailors in their majority are anarchists. They are not on the right but on the left of the Bolsheviks. In their last telegramme they have declared: " "Long live the soviet power!" At no time had they declared: "Long live the Constutuent Assembly! Here we are dealing with a left rebellion and not with an insurrection of the right".

Kronstadt was a second Paris Commune (30) where the best hopes and the last expectations of the working people, who were completely on the side of Kronstadt, were suffocated. The demands which were put on the first of March were the same which secretly were circulated in the Russian vastness, from the White Sea to the Caucasian mountains, from Vladivostok to the western frontiers.

The insurrection of Kronstadt provoked by a political clique of charlatans, headed by Lenin and Trotsky, was suppressed pitilessly. But the 900 shot in Kronstadt and all those regiments which were decimated because they refused to assault the citadel, have, by their heroic death, opened the eyes of the international proletariat and have destroyed two fairy tales: The first, forged by the Communist Party was that all workers and peasants as well as the Red soldiers and sailors had supported the bolshevik-communists. In fact Kronstadt was definitely red and libertarian in spirit and in practice; The second, propagated by the Right Social Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and other right wingers was that the Russian workers adhered to the ideas they professed. Undoubtedly they had some influence which lasted during the time of their criticism of the bolshevik government, in the time of Petlura, Hetman and Denikin. Although they had some influence neither monarchists nor the cadets, nor the Mensheviks, nor the right social revolutionaries could ever claim the support and sympathy of workers and peasants.

Kronstadt was crushed but the Bolshevik-Communists were not satisfied. To govern smoothly and to continue to talk in the name of the workers they had to eliminate all di scontent among the worker and peasant masses. To do that, they thought it was sufficient to arrest all anarchist propagandists. They were mistaken. This was not the way to neutralize the libertarian spirit in Russia. As in Germany the spirit of submission, obedience and respect to authority is impossible to be destroyed by force, so in Russia and, particularly in the Ukraine, it is impossible to kill so quickly the spirit of liberty, independence and rebellion. They have to thin the population and anihilate entire generations if this spirit of freedom, independence and hate towards all kind of authority is to be eradicated.

All anarchists in Moscow, Petrograd and all over Russia, marked by the Tcheka, were arrested. All clubs, publishing houses etc. were closed down.

The repression of 1921 in Moscow is more or less known to the outside world. It also touched the anarchist close to the bolsheviks, forced the anarchist "intellegentsia" out of its inertia and compelled them to tell the truth about the bolsheviks. Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Borovoy Shapiro and others openly exposed the situation suffered by the Russian anarchists, The false picture of Russian Anarchism spread by various anarchist "personalities" began to crumble not only in Russia but everywhere else also.

Even in prisons anarchist were not silenced by the government and they continued the struggle. A wellknown episode is that of Tagansky prison's hunger strike.

On 4th of July 1921, the anarchists who were imprisoned in Tagansky, began a hunger strike in order to show the foreign delegates who were in Moscow for the Comintern's Congress and, especially those who arrived for the Red International Trade-Union , the real face of bolshevik- communists. The news of the hunger strike spread by word of mouth. The anarcho-syndicalists, the syndicalists and some foreign communists were startled. At the beginning the bolsheviks had succeeded to convince the delegates, including the anarcho-syndicalists, that in prison were only bandits and habitual criminals calling themselves anarchists. But an anarchist delegate who secretly meet Voline in prison said: "All truth but the truth"(31).

Then the bolsheviks contradicted themselves so much that the delegates insisted that Lenin's, Trotsky's and others' statements be verified. In vain they waited, until they threatened to undermined all common work with the bolsheviks if the promise to verify the real facts was not fulfilled. Neither Dzerzhinskii nor Samsonov (an ex-anarchist) could do it. Their manoeuvres could not deceive the delegates and the latter insisted on for our liberation. After some scandals and clashes the central committee, pressed by the foreign delegates, examined our case again and decided to exile us under the threat of that if we return we will be shot (32). The delegates gave us their moral support and after ten and a half days the hunger strike ended. This affair spread widely and provoked a big scandal due to the stupid intervention of Bukharin who, on the last day of the Profintern's congress, in the name of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. accused the Russian Anarchists (33). The lies and the real face of the bolsheviks became obvious to all delegates including those who shared their ideas.

But only two month after the Central Committee and the "soviet" government gave their word, we were freed. In the meantime the Tcheka multiplied the provocations in order to find a pretext to break the promise they had made to the foreign delegates.

It took six months for the promise to be fulfilled. However, four of our friends and their famillies expelled with false Czechoslovakian papers were arrested in Stetin and for weeks lived in fear of being returned to Russia.

Here are the names of those who were expelled from Russia: Voline, a well known revolutionary in and outside Russia; former editor of Golos Truda, first in New York and then in Petrograd; former member of the secretariat of Nabat of the Ukrainian anarchists; editor of and collaborater in numerous libertarian publications and member of various congresses (34).

Yartchuk: an anarcho-syndicalist since 1903, deportee and emigrant in the United States. Main instigator of the Kronstadt sailors' demonstration in Petrograd during 3 rd to 5th July; member of the executive bureau of the Russian anarcho-syndicalist confederation; editor of and collaborator in numerous libertarian publications and member of various congresses.

Maximov: former member of the editorial collective of the Golos Truda of Petrograd and collaborator in many publications and secretary of the executive body of the anarcho-syndicalist confederation.

Mratchny: member of the secretariat of Nabat in the Ukraine, editor of and collaborator in several publications.

Feodorov: Old anarchist, a deportee.

Feldman: an old anarchist and an emigrant.

Anatol (Gorelik): an anarchist since 1904, an emigrant, editor of and collaborator in many publications, in and outside of Russia; former secretary to the anarchist bureau in the Donets Basain.

Iudin and Verobiev: members of the united students.

For years, many anarchists were left to rot in gaols living in such deplorable conditions that the greatest number of them were sick. The hunger strike, scandles, obstructions were the only means of protest left open to them. But these modes of protests remained without answers. Instead the abuses increased and the situation became more intolerable. This forced some anarchists to adopt different means: escaping. Ten anarchists escaped from Riazan and many others from other gaols. In revenge the Tcheka began shooting, together with other prisoners, as many anarchists as it could lay its hand on, accusing them as anarcho bandits.

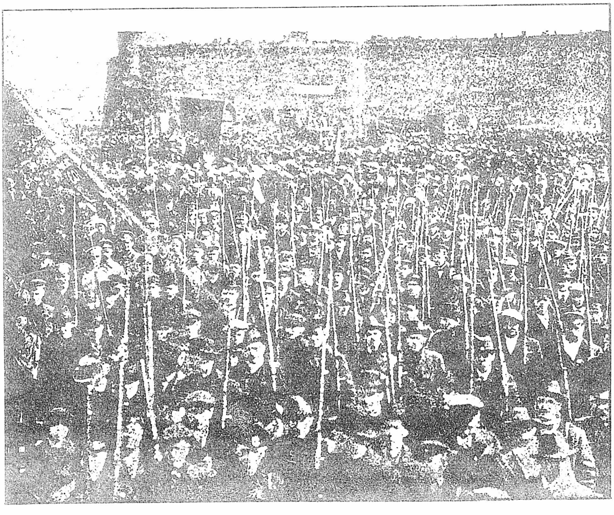
In this way fell:

Lev Tcherny (Pavel Turtchaninov): an old anarchist, emigrant, theoretician and founder of associationist anarchism: former secretary of the anarchist federation of Moscow

Fanya Baron: an anarchist since 1913, known to many in Russia and the United States, who escaped from the Riazan prison once.

V. Potekhnin: an anarchist printer.

Tikhon Kachirin: an young anarchist who had escaped from Yaroslav prison.



Mass action before the Winter Palace. (One Big Union Monthly).

Olga Taratoota: an ex-deportee: Baron: an ex-deportee, emigrant and a member of the secretariat of Nabat; Kabas Tarasiuk - also a member of the secretariat of Nabat, a militant in the Russian trade union in the United States: Olonestsky, member of the secretariat of Nabat; Askatov, a member of the anarchist universalists, an old anarchist emigrant; Barmach, an emigrant, previously condemned to death, a member of the secretariat of the anarchist-universalist: Shapiro and Stetchenko, both members of the universalists, Yaroslavskaia, an old deportee; Karasik, a deportee and formerly condemned to death and many tens and hundreds others known and active anarchists and sympathizers.

The Tcheka was not satisfied with just killing these comrades but it tried to slander their memories so as to descredit them in the eyes of ill-informed people. They, also, joked with them. For example, a few days before his execution, Lev Tcherny was told that he was going to be released. Potekhnin was arrested while sick in bed. This is the way the bolshevik-communist revenged their political failures when faced with anarchism.

Many are deported to the North. It is difficult to help them due to numerous obstacles put by the bolsheviks. Recently some Moscow anarchists in the factories of Alswang, Bromleef and the Building Institute who collected funds to help the prisoners were arrested. Nevertheless many imprisoned anarchists are sick spiting blood, suffering from intestine diseases and they need foreign help.

The bolshevik-communists have "won" by destroying the hopes of the workers and revolutionaries. The reaction, the hunger and the cold are the reigning masters in Russia. Would all these efforts be futile while the best have perished? What generously poured blood! From what has been said above let us hope that not everything is lost and that in the next Russian revolution the libertarian seeds will bring their fruits.

Revolution has terrible and bloody consequences, especially when political cliques take roots relying on the ignorance and the confidence of the masses and when the struggle for power becomes very intense between individuals and groups.

We hope that in the next Russian revolution the anarchists will be active and organized, thus making possible a social revolution based on the anti-etatist and free federalistic principles. In Russia all hopes are permitted.

What have the anarchists realized and what has been their role in the Russian Revolution? They have cleared anarchism of all accusation thrown by bourgeois ideologies from Humandis, Menchikov and Martov to Lenin, Tchernov and Bukharin. They have destroyed among the anarchists themselves the mystique of the bomb and the revolver and have eradicated the idea that the "ex" and "terror" are the basic constituents of anarchist tactics. In the libertarian movement they have deepend the understanding of anarchism and also have revealed the consciousness of the libertarian masses. They have brought forth new formes of libertarian, syndicalist and economic organization, which the masses try concretely to implement. They put forward not only the forms of destruction but also of social reconstruction. They have tried to find concrete forms of tactics. They enabled the thoughts of free initiative, anti-etatist principles. federalism and self-organization of the masses to penetrate deep into the working masses. They have partly succeeded in destroying the faith in Authority and Government and also to destroy the faith in heros, parties and leaders.

They have inbued the worker and peasant masses with the sentiment of independence and consciousness of their own merits. They have introduced the new formes of workers' organiations among the masses:

factory and plant committees and production organizations which the bolsheviks has to recognize and count on them, even if in 1917 many bolsheviks were opposed to re-organization of the syndicates into productive organizations. They have affirmed and, more or less, re-enforced the consciousness and the sentiment of solidarity and mutual aid. They have shown to the working masses a new conception of the revolution which consists of changing radically the conditions of life. As revolutionaries the anarchists took an active part in all mass manifestations and were in the first line of all battles against the counter-revolutionaries, a truth which has often been attested to in soviet press.

It is obvious that the success of libertarian principle did not come from the anarchists only. Thousands of anonimous workers took and developed these conceptions in their social practice. What the anarchists have done is to give an impetus in all forms of mass work in the revolution. All workers who are concerned with the liberation of work from the chains of Capital and Authority ought to denounce the bolsheviks betrayal and to demand that the latter stop their activities as Judas and stop acting as partisan and imitators of the Russian satraps.

To the struggle waged against the famine in Russia based on the slogan "Bread to Russia", ought to be added: "Freedom for the workers and Russian revolutionaries"; "Friendly societies of the revolutionary masses which are oppressed in Russia" instead of the present "Friendly societies of soviet Russia". The working people of Russia to achieve a normal life need Bread and Butter.

Anatole Gorelik.

Notes

1. Khudakov, a railway worker, an anarchist since 1892. During the revolution he was the president of an armed committee in the region.
2. According to Khudakov himself, the Duma committee and Kerensky made more than one attempts to free the tsar from Tsarskoe Selo but the armed committee's detachment led by Khudakov frustrated their attempts.
3. In June 1917, in Kharkov, a conference of the South Russian anarchists took place. At it resolutions on definite issues were adopted and it was decided to convene a pan-Russian anarchist congress. See "Klieb and Volia" and the bulletin which appeared at the time in Kharkov.
4. Local and regional conferences were taking place in Petrograd, Moscow, Saratov, Ekaterinoslav and almost in all big Russian cities.
5. See Lenin's pamphlets: "The State and Revolution". Political Parties in Russia and others, when he points out and demonstrates that the bolsheviks are more anarchists than the anarchists themselves. See also The ABC of Communism by Bukharin, The 20th theses of the Comintern and so on
5. Soon after the February Revolution factory and plant committees were formed by the workers themselves. Their function was to control the production while their aim was to finally take all the production in their hands. In future, factory and plant committees will have to play their role but now they are transformed into bolshevik organs of surveillance over the workers.
6. The bolshevik leaders (the social-democrats) were against this manifestation. On the eve of the 3rd of July, Trotsky, in factory meetings, imposed this action too.

7. The factory and plant leadership and management passed into the hands of factory and plant committees elected and control by the workers themselves. Every factory was directed by its own factory committee.
8. See: The State from a Marxist point of view by Lenin, edited in 1917. The 20th theses of the Comintern, the ABC of Communism.
9. The congress was illegal. Nontheless there were delegates from all over Russia and Siberia. It took place on 25th December 1917.
10. The idea of the Commune penetrated the consciousness of the masses deeply long before October and this played a definite role into transforming the bolsheviks into communists.
11. As above.
12. Sovnarkom=Soviet of the peoples' commissars=the soviet government.
13. During the Revolution no important text (except some articles and pamphlets) on this issue were published.
14. In a clearly stated article it appeared in the only issue of the journal "Golos Truda" in Moscow in 1919.
15. The names are not important but not to talk in a void we will mention the names of some of the most known and here concerned anarchists: the worker Alfa (Aniket), Lyss Kilbatchich(Victor Serge), Novomirsky, Krasnochtchokov Tombinson, Osurgsky, de Chicago, Samsonov, Baron, le Londonien, Sasha Feldman, Ravkin, and many others entered the Party. Samsonov, as a member of the college of the Tcheka, became one of the most terrible persecuters of the anarchists later on. Roschstin-Grossman, Chatov, Dandomirsky, Aleinikov, Kamenitsky, Sasha Taratuta, Rotenberg, Dukalsky, Chaim the Londonien (Geitsman) and mass of others became soviet-anarchists or anarcho-bolsheviks. Shapiro, Maximov, Berkman, and others were of the old anarchist sovietists. And I don't talk of all those who sympathized or semi-sympathized with the bolshevik "Great Experiment".
16. See Bukharin's: The ABC of Communism, Radek's The Soviet Power and the Anarchists,* , The press of the time and the writings of other top bolsheviks.
17. Many comrades were arrested summarily. One of the anarchists, the comrade F. asked the examining magistrate: "Why do you do this?"The magistrate answered: "The representatives of the Entente (The Western allies united in their intervention against the revolutionary Russia) are actually in Vologda and are refusing to negotiate with a government which marches hand in hand with the anarchists and which allows them such a freedom... There is no other way to proceed. You yourself have to understand that we cannot act otherwise.
18. See The Condemned to 20 years, the affair of the American anarchists Abraham. Lipman and others in the U.S.A. in 1918-19.
19. Carried out by the left S.R.
20. Iakovlef's pamphlet: The Russian Anarcho-Syndicalists before the Judgement of the world proletariat, published by the Comintern in various foreign languages. Later, a propaganda in this sense, was conducted by the bolsheviks aiming at discrediting the Russian anarchists.
21. Notorious political prison in tsarist Russia intensively used by the Tcheka.
22. This fact has been known by the Tcheka's president in Melitipol, the communist Semenov.
23. To familiarize oneself with the political and revolutionary physiognomy of the insurgents, consult: The protocol of the congress of the revolutionary insurgents, The declaration of the insurgent re-

volutionary Makhnovist army, and their journal Put k Svobode.

24. See on this subject Volin's testimony in the Unknown Revolution.

25. One of the favourite methods of the tchekists was to make the victims stand against the wall, to put a revolver at the back of the neck or to shoot nearer. In this case also the most brave not always could tolerate such a torture.

26. Certain executioners recieved the "red" decoration. One of them, Emilianov, a member of theR. C. P. celebrating his thousand victim, died in the sanatorium where was Maria Spiridonovna (the legendary figure and one of the leaders of the left S. R. imprisoned by the bolsheviks). This executioner was buried with a guard of Honour to the sound of the International. In the front of the procession was a red flag.

27. Consult the bolshevik press at the time of the struggle against Denikin.

28. See a document related to this affair in Tchertkov.

29. Among the anarchists arrested in Kharkov were: Volin, Baron, Anatole (Gorelik), Fannie Baron, Mratchny, Yartchuk, Driker, Stoianov, Tchekerez, Lev Kogan, Kalbass, Olga Taratuta and many others. Also the representatives of the Makhnovists: Popov, Budanov, Khokhotba, Tcharin and others.

30. The Kronstadt is the bloodiest stigma of the R. C. P. and the Comintern.

31. Gaston Leval states this affair in his memoires excerpts in Niether God nor Master, * an anarchist antology presented by D. Guerin.

32. Trotsky's letter to the commission (signed Michel), the letter of Lomov to Tom Man, the Iakovlev's pamphlet: The anarcho-syndicalist before the judgement of the world proletariat.

33. The report to the Profintern: Bukharin speech, the answer of Sirol.

34. It is worth mentioning that Voline spent a lot of his time on giving lectures . He gave nearly 400 lectures during the revolution of 1917.

35. * At the 10th pan-Russian Communist Party Congress it was decided to guarantee private property by all means at the disposition of the state and to use all means to interfere in all disputes between workers and bosses. On the basis of this decree, a worker who does not obey the decision of the Commission of Work (supreme tribunal) can be dismissed without notice and compensation, that is to say, left at the mercy of the boss of the factory. The state, being it socialist and with a communist government, is always a state which defends the interest of Capital and Government.

**Khleb & Volia, for decades was the mouthpiece of the anarchists and narodniks.

***Pamphlet edited by an Argentinian workers group in Juin 1922. Translated from Russian by A. Skirda.

* No known English Translation.

Translated from the French edition (1973).

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SEE YOU SOON.

AN ANARCHIST LIFE: MOLLIE STEIMER (1897-1980)

Mollie Steimer, the well-known anarchist militant, died of a heart attack on July 23, 1980, at her home in Cuernavaca, Mexico. Mollie was 82 years old, and throughout her long life she was consumed with a passion to work for the good of the people. One of the last of the old-time anarchists with an international reputation, she was also one of the last of a remarkable company of Russian political exiles in Mexico that included such diverse figures as Jacob Abrams, Victor Serge, and Leon Trotsky. She is survived by her lifelong companion, Senya Fleshin, and by a younger sister in New York City, to whom our heartfelt condolences are extended.

Born on November 21, 1897, in the village of Dunaevstky in southwestern Russia, Mollie emigrated to the United States in 1913 with her parents and five brothers and sisters. Only 15 when she arrived in the New York ghetto, she immediately went to work in a garment factory to help support her family. She also began to read radical literature, starting with Bebel's _Women and Socialism_ and Stepniak's _Underground Russia_ before discovering the works of Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Emma Goldman. By 1917 Mollie had become an anarchist, the creed to which she dedicated her life. With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, she plunged into agitational activity, joining a group of young anarchists gathered around a clandestine Yiddish journal called _Der Shturem_ (The Storm). Plagued by internal dissension, the Shturem group reorganized itself towards the end of the year, adopting the name of _Frayhayt_ (Freedom) and launching a new journal under that title, of which five numbers appeared between January and May of 1918, with cartoons by Robert Minor and articles by Maria Goldsmith and Georg Brandes, among others. For its motto its editors chose Henry David Thoreau's celebrated dictum: "That government is best which governs not at all" (in Yiddish: "Yene regirung iz di beste, velkhe regirt in gantsn nit"), an extension of Jefferson's "That government is best which governs least."

The group, as a collective, edited and distributed their newspaper in secret. This was necessary because it had been outlawed by the federal government for its opposition to the American war effort, not to speak of it anti-capitalist, pro-revolutionary, and pro-Soviet orientation. ("The only just war is the social revolution," proclaimed its masthead. "Der ayntsiger gerekhter krig is di sotsiale revolutsie.") After printing the paper on a hand-press, the group folded it up tightly and stuffed it at night into mailboxes around the city. Federal and local officials soon became aware of their activities, but were unable to track thr group down, until an incident occurred which catapulted Abrams, Steimer, and their comrades into the headlines—and also landed them in jail.

What provoked the incident was the landing of American troops in Soviet Russia during the spring and summer of 1918. Viewing the intervention as a counterrevolutionary maneuver, the members of the Frayhayt group resolved to stop it. With this object, they drafted two leaflets, one in English and one in Yiddish, appealing to the American workers to launch a general strike.

Each of the leaflets was printed in 5,000 copies and distributed throughout the city. Police raided the headquarters of the group on East 104th Street, wrecking the apartment and arresting Jacob Abrams and Jacob Schwartz, who were beaten with fists and blackjacks on the way to the station house. When they arrived, further beatings were administered. Schwartz was spitting blood. Soon afterwards, Lachowsky was brought in bruised and bleeding, with tufts of hair torn from his head. Abrams, Steimer, Lachowsky, Lipman, and Schwartz were indicted on charges of conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act, passed by Congress earlier that year.

The Abrams case, as it came to be known, constitutes a landmark in the repression of civil liberties in the United States. The first important prosecution under the Espionage Act, it is cited in all standard histories of the subject as one of the most flagrant violations of constitutional rights during the Red Scare hysteria that followed the First World War.

Before the conclusion of the trial, which took place in October, 1918, Mollie Steimer delivered a powerful speech in which she explained her political beliefs. "By anarchism," she declared, "I understand a new social order, where no group shall be in power, no group of people shall be governed by another group of people. Individual freedom shall prevail in the full sense of the word. Private ownership shall be abolished. Every person shall have an equal opportunity to develop himself well, both mentally and physically. We shall not have to struggle for our daily existence as we do now. No one shall live on the product of others. Every person shall produce as much as he can, and enjoy as much as he needs—receive according to his needs. Instead of striving to get money, we shall strive towards education, towards knowledge. While at present the people of the world are divided into various groups, calling themselves nations, while one nation defies another—in most cases considers the others as competitive—we, the workers of the world, shall stretch out our hands towards each other with brotherly love. To the fulfillment of this idea I shall devote all my energy, and, if necessary, render my life for it."

Judge Clayton sentenced the three men, Lipman, Lachowsky, and Abrams, to the maximum penalty of twenty years in prison and a $1,000 fine, while Mollie received fifteen years and a $500 fine.

The four anarchists were released on bail to await the results of their appeal. Mollie immediately resumed her radical activities. As a result, she was continually hounded by the authorities. Over the next eleven months she was arrested no less than eight times, kept in the station house for brief periods, released, then rearrested, sometimes without charges being preferred against her.

In the fall of 1919, when Emma Goldman returned to New York after completing a two year sentence in the federal penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri, Mollie took the opportunity to call on her. It was the beginning of a lasting friendship. Mollie reminded Emma of the Russian women revolutionaries under the tsar, earnest, ascetic, and idealistic, who "sacrificed their lives before they had scarcely begun to live." In Emma's description, Mollie was "diminutive and quaint-looking, altogether Japanese in features and stature." She was a wonderful girl, Emma added, "with an iron will and a tender heart," but "fearfully set in her ideas." "A sort of Alexander Berkman in skirts," she jested to her niece Stella Ballantine.

The Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Mollie and her comrades. Two justices, however, Louis Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes, issued a strong dissenting opinion, agreeing with the defendants that their aim had been to help Russia and not to impede the war effort. "In this case," wrote Holmes, "sentences of twenty years' imprisonment have been imposed for the publishing of two leaflets that I believe the defendants have had as much right to publish as the Government has to publish the Constitution of the United States, now vainly invoked by them."

In April, 1920, Mollie was transferred from Blackwell's Island to Jefferson City, Missouri, where Emma Goldman had been confined before her deportation with Berkman in December, 1919. Mollie remained in Jefferson City for eighteen months. Since the time of the trial, her life had been full of tragedy. Apart from her repeated incarcerations, one of her brothers had died from influenza and her father had died from the shock that followed her conviction. Yet she refused to despair. Indeed, her devotion to her ideals was stronger than ever.

Weinberger, their attorney, with the support of the Political Prisoners Defense and Relief Committee, worked to secure the release of the prisoners on condition of their deportation to Russia. While Abrams and Lipman favored such an arrangement, Lachowsky and Steimer were on principle opposed to deportation.

Abrams, exasperated by Mollie's stubborn adherence to principle, offered Weinberger a word of advice. "She must be approached like a good Christian," he wrote, "with a bible of Kropotkin or Bakunin. Otherwise you will not succeed." In due course Weinberger obtained the release of the four prisoners, with the stipulation that they would leave for Russia at their own expense and would never return to the United States.

On November 24, 1921, Mollie Steimer, Samuel Lipman, Hyman Lachowsky and Jack Abrams, accompanied by his wife Mary, sailed for Soviet Russia on the S. S. Estonia. The *Fraye Arbeter Shtime* issued a warning. Despite their opposition to American intervention and their support of the Bolshevik regime, the paper predicted, they would not receive the welcome they expected, for Russia was no longer a haven for genuine revolutionaries, but rather a land of authority and repression.

Amid the gloom, however, there were some bright spots. Mollie met Senya Fleshin, who became her lifelong companion. Three years older than Mollie, Senya had been born in Kiev in December, 1894, and had emigrated to the United States at the age of sixteen, working at the office of Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth* until he returned to Russia in 1917 to take part in the revolution. He had been active in the Golos Truda (Voice of Labor) group in Petrograd and afterwards in the Nabat (Alarm) Confederation in the Ukraine. In 1920 he had returned to Petrograd to work at the Museum of the Revolution. It was here that he met Mollie Steimer shortly after her arrival from America, and the two fell immediately in love.

Deeply disturbed by the suppression of their movement, Senya and Mollie organized a Society to Help Anarchist Prisoners, travelling about the country to assist their incarcerated comrades. On Nov. 1, 1922, they were themselves arrested by the GPU on charges of aiding criminal elements in Russia and maintaining ties with anarchists abroad (they had been corresponding with Berkman and Goldman). Sentenced to two years' exile in Siberia, they declared a hunger strike on November 17 in their Petrograd jail, and were released the next day. Before long, Senya and Mollie resumed their efforts in behalf of their imprisoned comrades. On July 9, 1923, their room was raided by the GPU, they were again placed under arrest, and charged with propagating anarchist ideas, in violation of Art. 60-63 of the Soviet Criminal Code. They were notified of their impending expulsion from the country. On September 27, 1923, they were place aboard a ship bound for Germany.

Senya and Mollie went straight to Berlin, where Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were waiting for them. They arrived half starved and penniless and without a permanent passport. For the next twenty-five years they lived as "Nansen" citizens, anarchists without a country, until they acquired Mexican citizenship in 1948.

In Berlin, and afterwards in Paris, Senya and Mollie resumed the relief work which had led to their deportation. Together with Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Alexander Schapiro, Volin, and Mark Mratchny, they took part in the Joint Committee for the Defense of Revolutionaries Imprisoned in Russia (1926-1932), sparing no effort to maintain a steady flow of parcels and messages of encouragement to their imprisoned and exiled comrades.

In 1927 they joined Volin, Jacques Doubinsky and Berkman in forming the Mutual Aid Group of Paris to assist fellow anarchist exiles, not only from Russia, but also from Italy, Spain, Portugal and Bulgaria, penniless, without legal documents, and in constant danger of deportation, which in some cases would have meant certain death.

In order to earn a living, Senya had meanwhile taken up the profession of photography, for which he exhibited a remarkable talent, becoming the Nadar of the anarchist movement, with his portraits of Berkman, Volin and many other comrades, both well-known and obscure, as well as a widely reproduced collage of the anarchist press. In 1929 Senya was invited to work in the studio of Sasha Stone in Berlin. There, assisted by Mollie, he remained until 1933, when Hitler's rise to power forced them to return to Paris, where they continued to live until the outbreak of the Second World War. During these years of exile in the 1920s and the 1930s, Senya and Mollie received a steady stream of visitors—Harry Kelly, Rose Pesotta, Rudolf and Milly Rocker, among others— some of whom recorded their impressions of their old friends. Kelly, for example, found Mollie "as childlike in appearance as ever, and as idealistic too." Emma Goldman, however, thought her too "narrow and fanatical." Emma compared Mollie to Berkman as a young militant and "a fanatic to the highest degree. Mollie is a repetition in skirts. She is terribly sectarian, set in her notions, and has an iron will. No ten horses could drag her from anything she is for or against. But with it all she is one of the most genuinely devoted souls living with the fire of our ideal."

The outbreak of the war in 1939 found Senya and Mollie in Paris. At first they were not molested, but before long their Jewish origins and anarchist convictions caught up with them. On May 18, 1940, Mollie was placed in an internment camp, while Senya, aided by French comrades, managed to escape to the unoccupied sector of the country. Somehow, Mollie secured her release, and the two were reunited in Marseilles, where they saw their old friend Volin for the last time in the autumn of 1941. Soon afterwards, they crossed the Atlantic and settled in Mexico City. "How my heart aches for our forsaken beloved ones," wrote Mollie to Rudolf and Milly Rocker in December, 1942. "Who knows what will become of Volin, of all our Spanish friends, of our Jewish family! It is maddening!"

For the next twenty years Senya operated his photographic studio in Mexico City under the name of SEMO—for Senya and Mollie. During this time they formed a close relationship with the Spanish comrades of the Tierra y Libertad group, while remaining on affectionate terms with Jack and Mary Abrams, notwithstanding Jack's friendship with Trotsky, who had joined the colony of exiles in Mexico.

Mollie never returned to America. Friends and relatives had to cross the border and visit her in Mexico City or Cuernavaca, to which she and Senya retired in 1963. When deported from the United States, Mollie had vowed to "advocate my ideal, Anarchism Communism, in whatever country I shall be." In Russia, in Germany, in France, and now in Mexico, she remained faithful to her pledge. Fluent in Russian, Yiddish, English, German, French, and Spanish, she corresponded with comrades and kept up with the anarchist press around the world. She also received many visitors, including Rose Pesotta and Clara Larsen of New York. In 1976 she was filmed by a Dutch television crew working on a documentary about Emma Goldman, and in early 1980 she was filmed again by the Pacific Street Collective of New York, to whom she spoke of her beloved anarchism, which Alexander Berkman called "the finest thing that humanity has ever thought of." In her last years, Mollie felt worn and tired. She was deeply saddened by the death of Mary Abrams in January, 1978. To the end, however, her revolutionary passion burned with undiminished flame. Salud, dear Mollie. Salud y Libertad!

Paul Avrich

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Announcement

Fanya Baron Library

In February 1975 four comrades meet in a small room in Sydney to discuss the possibility of setting up an Anarchist Library. It started off with a single shelf of books and $40 collected so as to begin subscriptions to a number of periodicals. From these small beginings within 6 months the range of titles grew to over 1000. At this point it was decided to name our small library after the Russian anarchist Fanya Baron in honor of the countless militants who devoted their lives to our movement with little or no recognition for their efforts.

The Library was initially keep in a house in the suburb of Glebe with limited lending facilities. In 1976 it suffered two serious setbacks, a substantial robbery and the fact that the entire collect--ion was forced into complete storage.

Then in mid 1977 when Jura Books was established a reasonable size room above the bookshop was made available to give the Library a permanent home. Work started immediately on the building of suitable shelving and the massive task of cataloging all the books and periodicals. Finally after many hours of persistent work by a handful of devoted comrades a Public Opening was held in Oct 1979.

Today for a joining fee of $5 membership of the Library is open to the general public. The following services are available to members:

(1) a range of over 2500 books on anarchism & related subjects available for one month loan.
(2) a wide range of periodicals, the current issue on display and back issues in files, available for reading in the reading room.
(3) a microfich reader and a large selection of rare classics.
(4) a small range of books & magazines in other languages.

The LIBRARY is open for same hours as JURA BOOKS.

Those interested in joining make enquires via the bookshop.
417 King St, Newtown, 2042.

Announcement

Today for the first time in a long while there is available in English a good selection of books giving an anarchist perspective on the Russian Revolution (see add in this issue for Jura Books). There are of course many items like Makhno's Memoirs yet to be translated. The translation of Gorelik's article in this issue is a small step in correcting this. Yet there are two important exceptions which have been long out of print. Hence it is with much pleasure that we make the following two pre-publication announcements :

(1) "The Bolshevik Myth" by Alexander Berkman
- jointly by Cienfuegos, Black Thorn & Black Rose Books

(2) "My Disillusionment in Russia" by Emma Goldman
- Monty miller Press (Sydney)

Both books should appear in Jan or Feb 1982, hopefully earily.

PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY.

I.

TWO HISTORIC DATES.

(Apropos of the Zürich Congress, 1893.)

The Socialist world has been much surprised by the attitude of the legalist majority at the recent so-called International Congress. But no one has raised the question, which it would be interesting to have answered: Was the action of the majority simply a blunder committed by the delegates, or was it a logical result of what has been preached for some years under the name of "scientific Socialism,"—a startling confirmation of the policy of legal tactics, of paltry reforms, and of purely parliamentarian combination? Luckily for us, Engels himself has given us the answer.

"It is just fifty years," said he, at the last sitting of the Congress. "since Marx and I first took up arms. It was in Paris, in 1843, in a review, entitled the "Franco-German Annals" ("Annales franco-allemandes"). Socialism at that time was represented only by small sects. . . . This year marks yet another anniversary: that of the Socialist Congress, held twenty years ago, *whereat we agreed upon the plan of campaign pursued up to the present without change and without swerving.* It was in 1873.* . . . We met together; we agreed upon a line of conduct; and you see where we are today. . . . Let us remain firmly united in our general line of conduct, and victory will be ours.†

This is very clear, is it not? It is evident that the Socialist world was surprised solely owing to its ignorance concerning the line of conduct; and that the chief of "scientific Socialism" glorifies himself precisely upon this position, foreseen fifty years ago and adhered to for thirty. Let us now see what new thing Marx and Engels introduced into the concept of Socialism, and what the character of the 1873 Congress was.

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* The Congress of 1873 was of no importance whatever in the Socialist movement. But that of 1872 at The Hague, where Marx and Engels triumphed, was really of great historical importance. These gentlemen hunted Federalists from the International, and by this act killed the great Association. We shall therefore only speak of the 1872 Congress, which left its mark on history.

† *Journal des Economistes*, No. 9, p. 328, 1893.

We know from history that in France at this time—from 1839 to 1848—a wide revolutionary movement with a very Socialistic tendency was in existence. Socialist publications flooded the country. P. Leroux V. Considerant, Proudhon, G. Sand, Auguste Comte, Lamennais, Barbès, and Blanqui, but especially Louis Blanc, preached Socialist doctrines, of various kinds, which have been well absorbed by the working masses. Louis Blanc's was the most popular. It was on account of his scheme for the "Organization of Labor" that the people carried him in triumph as member of the provisional government, February 24, 1848. In his paper, "Revue du Progrès" ("Review of Progress"), started in 1839, Blanc began to publish his system of State Socialism, a perfectly new doctrine at his period. He said that the social problem would be solved only by a democratic State: that the people should, above all, grasp the political power, and take legislative authority into their own hands; *but that the political struggle should be subordinated to the economic and social emancipation of the people; the latter is the end, the former a simple means to it.* Once the State is captured, all privileges will be abolished, as well as all capitalistic social organization; which will be replaced by an organization of national workshops, and by free loans to autonomous associations. Organized workshops, "loans to the poor" being set on foot, the State had no further right to meddle with the autonomous life of the associations, which should organize themselves upon the Communist basis, having for its motto: *From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.* This is, in a few words, the doctrine of Louis Blanc. It is seen that the Social Democracy of today—but let Mr. Engels himself tell us what they preached at the same time as Blanc.

Just a few months before the revolution of February 24, 1848, the German Communist League published the famous "Communist Manifesto," drawn up by Marx and Engels. The practical methods recommended to the people were formulated as follows:— *

1. The expropriation of the land, and employment of rent for the expenses of the State.
2. A progressive and very heavy tax on incomes.
3. The abolition of the right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the wealth of emigrants and rebels.
5. Confiscation of credit in the hands of government by means of a State bank and *an exclusive monopoly.*
6. Centralization of the means of transport in the hands of the State.
7. Augmentation of the number of State factories and of the in-

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*** I quote from the text of the first edition, 1847.**

struments of production; cultivation and improvement of the land according to a general plan (provision).

8. Work compulsory for all; the organization of a labor army, for agriculture especially.

With this Marx and Engels began their Socialistic and revolutionary propaganda. Let impartial persons judge by whom the wider humanitarian and social ideas were conceived, by Louis Blanc with his motto, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," with autonomous groups, or by Marx and Engels with their "exclusive monopoly," "the cultivation of the land according to a general scheme," "the organization of a labor army, for agriculture especially?" And what has Mr. Engels to brag of? Why should humanity glorify an occasion of reaction? I can understand celebrating the anniversary of the publication of Robert Owen's manifesto in 1813, since he proclaimed Socialist ideas, humanitarian and broad in many ways. But to celebrate the date of the appearance of Mr. Engels on the political horizon, with his reactionary ideas and his too often unlucky tactics! . . . So often productive of evil, if I may be pardoned for saying so.

Let us look at the other glorious date, 1873, when a plan of action was resolved upon which ended at Zürich in declarations in support of the present system of government, based upon capitalist exploitation and a militarism unknown in times past.

I must own I am rather surprised at the choice of the last Congress of the International. The real glory of Marx lies in the establishing and drawing up of the preamble and general statutes of the great Association; that is to say, from 1864 to 1869, up to the Congress of Bâle—the moment of Marx's highest power. As far as I know, the Congress of 1873 left bitter memories with Marx, who saw plainly that it meant a death sentence against his centralized State party. As a matter of fact, from that moment the party of Marx in the International had no further existence, and up to 1881 the congresses were held only by the federalist followers of Bakunin, known as Anarchists. But if Marx was not pleased with the result of the Congress of 1873, Engels, on the contrary, was triumphant, for he had intended for a long time back to provoke a division in the International. Steeped in the reactionary ideas we have quoted above, Engels took a vow of implacable hatred against the Bakuninists, especially the members of the Socialistic International Alliance. The Federalists were supreme in the International in Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. Engels, as a member of the General Council of the International and as correspondent for Spain, wrote on July 25, 1872, to the Federal Council in Spain a monstrous letter, in which he demanded "a list of all members of the Alliance," and concluded with these words, "failing to receive a categorical and satisfactory answer by return of post, the General Council will feel itself compelled to denounce you publicly," etc. (" Mémoire de la fédération Jurassienne," p. 250). Mr. Engels wrote this letter without asking the opinion of the other members of the Council. When Jung and Marx heard of this ridiculous threat, the Council took no further notice of this famous letter.

I have not room to give the details of the intrigues carried on by Engels, Lafargue, Outine, and so many others against the Federalists, and especially against Bakunin and James Guillaume. Suffice it to say, that these intrigues brought about the schism in the International at the Congress of 1873, of evil memory. Little is generally known as to the method of summoning this Congress But we know that Marx and Engels ordered Sorge, the delegate of the German section in New York, to bring as many blank credentials as possible. Sorge, in fact, brought a large number. They were distributed right and left to the partisans of Marx and Engels. But the crowning sham was that these gentlemen brought with them, as members of the Council General of the International, men who had no part whatever in any section, and even Maltman Barry, of the " Standard," well known as the intimate friend af Engels. With a majority thus composed, they banished Bakunin, Guillaume, and with them the Federations of Jura, Spain, Italy, Belgium, and England. Only the Germans and a few isolated groups from different countries remained with Marx, Engels and Barry.* All the active and revolutionary elements rallied round the Federalist followers of Bakunin, and it was they who up to 1881 continued to summon the Congress of the International.

What glorious occasions does the name of Engels call up! What wonder that the majority of "legalists," sprung from so noble an origin, made at Zürich compacts with the governments, assaulted the Independents, and proclaimed war.

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* It is useful to mention that Jung had refused to be present at this Congress. "Marx and Engels urgently invited me to the Congress . . . . I refused . . . . the next day they called again . . . . Engels said to me: 'You are the only man who can save the Association.' I answered that I could go to The Hague only on condition that Marx and he should not go." We see that even among their own adherents, their influence was considered fatal.

II.

DICTATORSHIP AND SCIENTIFIC PRETENSIONS.

To give a clearer idea of the behavior of Marx and Engels as inspirers of the General Council of the International, we must see what their attitude was during the Commune of Paris. On April 3, 1871, the General Council of the International in London wrote to Paris: "Citizens, considering the state of affairs, members of the Paris bureau are invited to address daily reports to the Central Bureau of London."

Fancy, asking men engaged in battle to write reports! And wherefore reports?

On April 9: "We await results to give you our instructions."

At least Bismarck and Emperor William, who pretended to command, were present on the field of battle! But Marx and Engels, who directed the general committee, preferred remaining in security, with their feet on the fender, and giving instructions And such instructions!

April 4: "Do not create useless agitation in the provinces."

April 9: "Henceforth let the Republicans act, and do not compromise yourselves." Or else, "The struggle has begun in earnest. We reckon on you to sustain it."

But the culminating point of absurdity was that these men, greedy of power, even wanted to control the movements of each militant Socialist. Thus:

March 23: "Keep Gobert in Lyons, Henscot with you, and send Estein to Marseilles." March 24: "Send Cluseret to Paris." (A fine present, indeed.)

March 20: "In face of the difficulties that impede the departure of citizens Assi and Mortier for Lyons, we delegate citizen Landeck to Marseilles and Lyons with full powers."

According to the statutes of the International, the functions of the General Committee were purely administrative. The Committee was only to be a central bureau for the correspondence of the different national organizations, and was not to interfere with the internal affairs of each country. Nevertheless, under the direction of Marx and Engels, it gradually arrogated to itself other rights, such as direction of workers' organizations; and its mania for dictatorship reached its height when it sent orders like those we have just mentioned. Full powers of Marseilles and Lyons to an unknown celebrity! (And what tact! Two Germans delegating an individual with a German name to direct French Socialists, while the emperor, German princes, and Bismarck were in Versailles!)

As early as 1870, intelligent members of the International, Guillaume and Bakunin, had already perceived the growth of this ridiculous and dangerous tendency of men to become international dictators. Their influence formed a contrary current, which gradually made headway. Protests more and more numerous and violent arose. Thence dates the hatred of the Marxist clique towards the Federalists, especially towards Guillaume and Bakunin. This clique made use of all the energy and all the authority it could seize upon; it did not stop at threats. We saw how it made use of a majority at the Hague Congress in 1872, and their pamphlet "L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste", that appeared at that time, is a unique example of calumnies and absurdities.

After the split in the International, the two parties adopted very different tactics. While the Federalists laid more and more stress upon the revolutionary, ecconomic struggle, the partisans of a centralized State set up, in 1873, a program of legal and parliamentary action, and were drawn by political excitement and the electoral struggle more and more into the paths of moderation and compromise.* The lengths to which Social Democracy carried the spirit of conciliation between Socialist demands and the existing social order, at the Congress of Gotha, is a matter of common notoriety. And it is by no means astonishing that the old qualification of "Revolutionary Socialist" became embarrassing to all these diplomatic and legalitarian gentlemen. A new adjective was needed, better suited to their new ideas of Socialism and their distinguished position as would-be lawmakers.

The desired term was found: for the expression "revolutionary" they substituted "scientific," as distinguishing them from such ignoramuses as St. Simon, Owen, Proudhon, and Tchernyshevsky. Unfortunately, the adjective "scientific" is somewhat ambiguous, the defenders of the iniquities of capitalist organization being extremely fond of prating in the name of "science," while in Germany the men who cry "peace, peace, where there is no peace," also call themselves "scientific Socialists"—Socialists of the chair. To be distinguished from these doctrinaires was absolutely necessary; therefore a legend must be created treating the "science" of the Social Democrats as something quite peculiar, exclusively their own, and based on special discoveries made by these parliamentarians. Instead of simply saying that the colossal development of European culture obliges us to effect a radical change in the existing capitalist organization, and that science, *in its broadest*

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* In 1894 at the Frankfurt Congress a delegate said: "The medicine of Socialism must be administered in small doses." An honest scientific man said lately to one of our friends: "What do you want, the Radical program is more advanced than that of Socialism!" And it is so, indeed.

sense, as developed by the researches of numberless independent thinkers, tends to condemn individualistic methods of production and consumption, they preferred to attribute to themselves a special "science" of their own. But they forget that party science—if such a thing can indeed exist—can be accepted as authoritative only by the members of that party; while the unanimous claims of all branches of human knowledge act with irresistible pressure upon all open-minded persons.

Do the doctrines of official Social Democracy really contain laws and principles unknown to science in general and to Socialists of the "ignorant" schools? According to the assertions of the "thinkers" it appears as if they did.

"The laws of capitalist production discovered by Marx," we read in Engels's Biography ("Neue Zeit," Vol. IX., No. 8), "are as stable as those of Newton and Kepler relating to the movements of the solar system."

"It is to Marx," says Mr. Engels, "that we owe two great 'discoveries': First, the revelation of the secret of capitalist production by the explanation of surplus value; second, the materialist conception of history." (Engels, "Development of Scientific Socialism.")

"In 1845, we [Marx and Engels] decided to devote ourselves to the research necessary to work out the materialistic explanation of history discovered by Marx." ("Ludwig Feuerbach"; preface by Engels.)

In a controversy with Dühring, Engels says: "If Dühring means that the whole economic system of our time . . . is the result of the class war and of oppression, . . . then he repeats truths which have become commonplaces since the appearance of the 'Communist Manifesto' " (drawn up by Marx and Engels).

Telling the story of their youthful evolution, Engels naïvely acknowledges: "The remarkable thing was that it was not we alone who discovered materialist dialectics." ("Ludwig Feuerbach.") In any case, they also rediscovered the dialectical method. . . . But the disciples of these two thinkers go much further. They declare that their masters were the first to apply the dialectical method to historical, economic, and sociological researches and studies, thanks to which they have found out the law of capitalistic concentration—a sort of economic fatalism. They it is, also, who have created the party of Social Democracy, "the most revolutionary history has known." It is necessary, we are told, to study carefully Engel's pamphlet "Ludwig Feuerbach," as "it is the completest exposition of the philosophy of these two thinkers." (Plekhanoff's preface.) Mankind must seriously consider their earliest and crudest ideas, for "these are the first steps of scientific Socialism." ("Neue Zeit," biography of Engels.)

Every time I read these exaggerated passages, it strikes me that the reputation of Marx, and of Engels himself, would by no means suffer, if these overzealous laudations were avoided. How can it be seriously maintained that sociological laws as exact as those of attraction and gravitation have been yet discovered, and that it is to Marx that we owe these "discoveries" ?

Had nobody before them suspected the existence of these laws? Nobody, Social Democrats affirm. "Germany," says Bebel, "has undertaken the part of guide in the gigantic struggle of the future. It is even destined to play the part by its development and geographical position. It is not mere chance that Germans have discovered the dynamics of the development of present society and have laid the scientific basis of Socialism. Among these Germans, the first place belongs to Marx and Engels: after them comes Lassalle as organizer of the working masses." ("Woman," conclusion.) This admirable quotation of a complete Social Democratic character, by its boastfulness, teaches us at least on what Marx and Engels based their pretensions to a universal dictatorship. Germany is the head of humanity. They themselves are two shining lights of their country, consequently they are above ignorant humanity.

DRAGONS & DRAGONS

Some of you may recall an article in a previous issue that spoke on the subject of Separatism. That particular article was written to point out the error of thinking in a "man versus woman", "male versus female" frame of mind. A separation of thinking, manifested in such a way, illustrates that we, as Anarchists are forgetting our goals and letting ourselves become entrapped in a fantasy world of misconceptions.

The theory of Anarchism does not dwell on such divisive material.

Lately however, I have noticed another form os Separatism that has invaded the ranks of our revolutionary struggle. It infects the Anarchist way of thinking right along with the thinking of Statist Revolutionaries. It is a cancer that strikes without regard for its victims. Unlike other diseases, such as typhoid, it kills everyone it comes in contact with. Even the host is not immune, But is used to breed the disease even more rapidly.

That disease is Racism. It's almost impossible to read a supposedly Revolutionary paper without running into somebody dropping the old racist lines dressed up in new clothing. Stuff like " the White power structure", "the governmental form of the Native American", or the old standby of "(Black, Red, Wellow.. . . pick one) Power."

I readily admit that perhaps I am a little biased in my opinion since I seem to have first noticed it because of the recent deluge of such things appearing in the guise of attacks on "the White power structure" and statements similar to that. The reason it hit me so hard is that I am not used to being a victim of racism myself. One or two minor instances in the past perhaps, but nothing to the degree some people have gone through. After all, it isn't all that often that a "White" person in my circumstances will encounter a racist attack on the "White " people in this country.

The most recent example I ran into was a communique supposedly from Assata Shakkur released to the public after her escape from prison. I say "supposedly" because the only word I have on its authenticity is that of the papers that ran the story. I don't know for sure if it really is her article.

But there was the old "White power structure" line and it was combined with a line about "the White left." The basic thought behind the article was that Blacks would have to do all the work of building a new world themselves because "White" folks aren't up to doing anything of consequence in "the Movement". There was even a joke about putting two "White" radicals in a room with a clock and all they'll do is argue about what time it is.

Hilarious.

On top of that, it's such garbage that continues to split the left into opposing factions. It's crap like that that causes people to wonder if the people writing it are looking at the real world or are simply enjoying the sounds produced by a diseased mouth. It's shit like this that has to stop. Now.

It is ready to eat us alive.

Another piece of Separatist crap is the old line about "going back where you came from." Friend, I "came from" this area. I grew up in that section of the world known as "the United States." I happen to belong to a race of sentient beings that calls this PLANET its home. I'll go anywhere I damn will please and couldn't care less whether you like it or not.

But looking at the original idea of "going back where you came from." I happen to have some sons out there in the "free worl" that could face a similar problem. You see, although I was born Irish I didn't marry Irish. I married an Indian Woman. If we all "go back where we came from", where do my sons go? They aren't "pure" Irish so they can't go "back" to Ireland. They aren't "pure" Indian so they can't stay here.

What do they do - split the difference and occupy a wave or two in the North Atlantic?

Personally, it strikes me that anyone coming out with a racist line is a racist. I can't see too much difference between the Klan's anti-Black stand and a Black anti-White position. If a person wants to play a Black versus White game I suggest they take up chess. It's about the only good game involving those colors that I know.

But please, get the hell out of our Revolution. You're giving it a bad name. You're playing the power structure's game.

Will, I guess we could always build a new world where the "Whites" hate the "Blacks", but if we're going to go that route, let's let it all hang out and let everybody into the act. Let's start out with a concept of "Basic Black", slide down the scale to beautiful milk chocolate complexion, and go on from there, -all the way through colors like San Fernando Valley Brown, Golden Tan, all the way down to a total lack of pigment, Albino. Everybody can be free to hate everyone else -within the "proper" context of color. of course. Everyone can custom-make their own guilt trips behind it, too. Some may even choose to get "liberal" and say that, although some colors are worse than others, certain shades do have redeeming qualities.

On the other hand, if that's the world we want, why have a Revolution in the first place? It would appear that the present situation is perfect for such sick minds. Why spoil a good thing?

The point of this article is just to say one thing. Get rid of the bullshit. You can't beat the oppressor if, in doing so, you become the oppressor. You can't get rid of the cannibals by eating them.

One more thing. If you want help to build a better world where your children can live free, there's lot of people out there who feel the same way and they will be happy to help you attain that new world. helping you helps them. Helpng them helps you. But if you want to build a new world using the design of this old one, just changing the color of the cornerstone, you might decide to take a look at one other detail that you might have overlooked before.

We got guns too, friend. We got bombs. We got people just like ourselves, all joined together to achieve a NEW world, a NEW system, a NEW type of life. we want FREEDOM, friend, and that sure isn't found in racism. It isn't found in any kind of Separatism.

All of you out there got some idea that you're Dragons? You got some idea that a self-image like that makes you tougher than the next guy? Maybe you think, like Ho Chi Minn, that when the prison doors are opened the real Dragons will fly out?

Then think through that idea a little more. Dragons don't kill Drag gons. St. George kills Dragons. If we are Dragons, then we ought to stop fighting amongst ourselves and we better start fighting all the St. Georges that are in the world before they wipe us out. We can't be protecting the home front if we let the oppressor sneak in the back door.

I've had enough of this rhetoric. I started out simply to say my piece and complain about a bunch of crap coming out of the ranks. Instead I wound up getting into a sermon. Who, I ask you, needs sermons? We don't need to hear stuff coming from other mouths disguised as gospel. We need to think for ourselves.

We don't need enemies, we need friends. We have plenty of enemies. We can never have enough friends.

New worlds don't need old deseases.

John Bosch.

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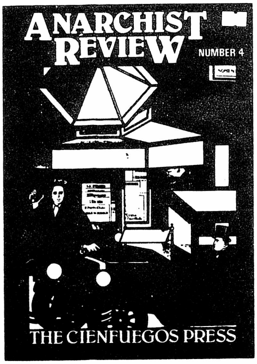

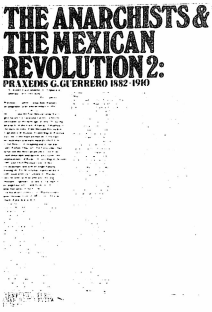
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